

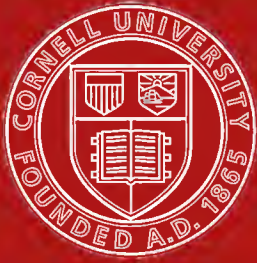


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COINS OF  
ANCIENT SICILY







SYRACUSAN 'MEDALLIONS'

## FRONTISPIECE

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COINS OF  
ANCIENT SICILY

BY

G. F. HILL, M.A.

OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM  
AUTHOR OF 'A HANDBOOK OF GREEK AND ROMAN COINS,' ETC.

WITH SIXTEEN COLLOTYPE PLATES OF COINS  
EIGHTY ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT  
AND A MAP

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## PREFACE

IT can hardly be denied that the popularization of archaeological studies is not from certain points of view a desirable undertaking. The disadvantages which every specialist must perceive in any but a rigidly scientific treatment of his subject are as patent in the case of coins as elsewhere; and I may therefore be expected to apologize for adding to the number of books which increase the bulk of the literature of numismatics without bringing grist to the mill of science. I have no apology which will not appear to halt in the eyes of the professional numismatist; but the archaeologist who is not specially trained in the study of coins will, I hope, be more merciful. The technicality of the study—a necessity if that study was ever to advance beyond the stage of dilettantism in which it once lingered—is rapidly increasing. The classification and arrangement of coins are being effected with extraordinary minuteness, made possible by recent progress in methods of mechanical reproduction.

Only those who are in daily touch with the literature which is being produced in growing quantities can hope to keep abreast of the advance, and that in the sense not of actually possessing information on more than one branch of the subject, but merely of knowing where to look for it. It is a conviction of the high interest, to all students of antiquity and lovers of art, of many things in the history of Sicilian coinage which are hidden away in special, highly technical publications, that has suggested the compilation of this book. Even if archaeologists feel that its treatment of the subject is too slight, they will perhaps find the illustrations useful. As regards those who are not skilled in any branch of archaeology, it is fair to say that no beginner of the study of Greek art can afford to neglect Sicilian coins, and no traveller in Sicily who cannot appreciate their beauty and historical value deserves the privilege of visiting the island. Possibly this volume may serve to whet the appetite for something more substantial and worthier the subject, for the works of Evans, Gardner, Head, Holm and Imhoof-Blumer—to mention some of the names most intimately connected with the study of Sicilian coins. Where these chapters are tedious, and degenerate into a mere list of types, the reader will find that the matters inadequately dealt with here acquire interest

when studied in greater detail under the guidance of writers such as I have named. It would be impertinent in me to express my obligations to their works. They are the foundation on which all later comers must build. So much so, that many passages in this book, to those familiar with their writings, must read like sheer plagiarism. But I may be pardoned for not always acknowledging the source of a view which, thanks to the authority of its propounder, has become one of the commonplaces of numismatic criticism. If, on the other hand, I have ventured occasionally to differ from the expressed opinion of any one of them, it has been in many cases with the support of another, and in all, I trust, with becoming modesty.

With some hesitation I have adopted the suggestion of a friend, and inserted in the Introduction a brief sketch of Sicilian History down to the beginning of the Imperial period. Such sketches are seldom satisfactory, nor can I allege any reason why the present one should not be ignored by those who have by them Freeman's little volume on Sicily in the 'Story of the Nations' series, not to mention the greater works of the same writer, of Holm and of Pais.

I desire to express my gratitude to the Trustees of the British Museum for the generous loan of

many of the woodblocks originally cut for the British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Sicily. These have enabled me to illustrate in the text a large number of coins which would else either have been excluded themselves, or have ousted others from the plates. The woodcuts, though they cannot be expected always to do justice to the originals, may yet serve as a rough indication of the types.

For permission to use the woodblocks of Figs. 23, 24, 27, 34, and 42, my thanks are due to their owners, the Council of the Numismatic Society of London, and Mr. Arthur Evans, whose articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* they were made to illustrate. I am also deeply indebted to many who, in the case of coins not well represented in our national collection, have supplied information or impressions, or permitted the use of casts already accessible to me; more especially I may mention the official staff of the Cabinets of Berlin and Paris, and—among private collectors—Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, Messrs. Arthur Loebbecke, S. A. Thompson Yates, John Ward, and Sir Hermann Weber. The British Museum series of electrotypes of rare coins has been drawn upon with the object of making the illustrations as complete as possible. Where the illustrations are not taken from the British Museum collection, I have

indicated in the key to the plates the collection to which the specimens belong. All the coins, unless otherwise described in the key, must be regarded as being of silver.

Finally, I must not omit to record my debt to Mr. Warwick Wroth, and especially to Mr. George Macdonald, who have bestowed great pains on the reading of my proofs, and made suggestions which in almost every case I have been glad to adopt.

G. F. HILL.

BRITISH MUSEUM,  
*Dec. 1902.*



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# COINS OF ANCIENT SICILY

## INTRODUCTION

AMONG the many students of ancient life, and the many who, though they cannot be called students, are yet aware that there is much in ancient life worthy of their attention, there are not a few to whom Greek antiquities of any kind, in the concrete sense, are an unknown quantity. There are also many who, familiar as they may be with other branches of archaeology, are somewhat bewildered by the complexity and technicality with which numismatic studies are encumbered. It may therefore not be out of place to devote a few introductory pages to explaining such technicalities as are unavoidable even in the most superficial treatment of Greek coins.

We need not here concern ourselves to find an adequate definition of the thing 'coin,' or to delimit the province of the study of numismatics. It is sufficient to understand that the coins which we shall meet with are pieces of metal adjusted to certain weights, issued with a distinguishing mark by the

authorities of various independent states, to serve as a medium of exchange. The metals which will concern us are in the first instance silver, in the next gold, bronze, and a mixture of gold and silver known as electrum. The order in which we have mentioned these metals is practically the order of their appearance in Sicilian coinage; but it must be remembered that, long before the invention of coins, gold, and in many cases bronze, circulated by weight as uncoined metal. And so we come to the second point in our rough definition, and to the question of weight standards. The brief excursion into the thorny byways of metrology made in the first chapter will probably be amply sufficient for the taste of most readers. It will, however, give an indication, though slight, of the fact that coin-standards often throw considerable light on the commercial and political relations between the different states of antiquity. But it was not enough that the coins should be of a certain weight; some guarantee was necessary to show that the metal was good, and to save the trouble of weighing each coin whenever it changed hands. Such a guarantee was afforded by the mark of the issuing authority. The piece of metal was given a certain shape and design by one of two methods. Either it was cast in a mould, which was of the right size to produce a cast of the required

weight, and which imparted to it the desired form and design; or else a piece of metal of the right weight (known as the *flan* or blank) was first cast, and then the required designs were impressed on it in relief by means of metal dies, in which the designs were engraved in intaglio. The former, or casting process, was in use in Central Italy in the earliest period of the coinage, when the currency consisted of large pieces of cast bronze. The second process (called 'striking,' although that word only describes the latter stage of it) was almost universal throughout the Greek world. Now this process of first casting the blank or flan, and then striking it with dies, produces many peculiarities, according to the different methods adopted in various parts of the world; and these peculiarities go to make up what the numismatist calls the 'fabric' of the coin.

The form given to the blank by the initial process of casting was naturally obliterated by the pressure of the dies; only on the edge of the struck coin, may there be preserved a relic of the original form, in the shape of a little projection. The mould, in most early Sicilian coins, was apparently spherical, and made in two equal halves. The projection was formed by the metal flowing into the joint between the two halves of the mould; on the faces of the

coin it was of course obliterated by the dies, but on the edge it escaped destruction<sup>1</sup>. This feature is more prominent in Sicilian coins than in those of any other part of the Greek world. The Greeks, indeed, took little trouble about the shape of their coins, as long as the weight was right and the design recognizable. They were excessively careless about the process of striking. They used no collar to hold the metal in place and preserve the circular shape of the coin; and the pressure of the dies caused the flans to spread irregularly, and often to split. The blank or flan was placed—as a rule, in a heated condition—on the lower die, which was let into an anvil; the upper die was held over it, and struck with a hammer. Very often the coin moved slightly between the first and the succeeding blows, and the later blows did not efface all traces of the first impression, so that what are called double-struck coins were produced. Sometimes the coin is struck to one side, so that a good part of the design is ‘off the flan.’ It is, in fact, an exception to find the design absolutely complete.

<sup>1</sup> If the blank was placed on the anvil in such a position that the ridge was in a horizontal plane, then the ridge would be preserved all round the edge of the coin. But this would have produced a thin ragged edge to the coin; more usually, therefore, the plane of the ridge was inclined, or even vertical, so that only two small projections remained after striking.



The dies themselves were probably made of comparatively soft metal, and broke and wore out easily. To this fact we owe the enormous variety of representations of the same type which is characteristic of Greek coins.

The lower die, which was let into the anvil, produced what is called the *obverse* side of the coin. The upper die produced the *reverse*. Down to the fourth century B.C., the reverse die was made smaller than the surface of the blank, so that it left an *incuse* impression, the edges of the blank rising up around it. In most parts of the Greek world the upper die was at first square in shape, so that the incuse impression was also rectangular. But the Sicilians, almost from the first, adopted a circular die, with the result that the 'incuse square' is hardly seen on Sicilian coins. One or two early coins, such as the first issues of Himera, Zancle, Syracuse, and Selinus, have it. In later times, the upper die was made so large that it covered the whole surface of the blank, and the reverse was then only differentiated from the obverse by a slight concavity of surface. Numismatists have become accustomed to use the terms 'obverse' and 'reverse' without regard to their technical significance. Strictly speaking, the head on such a coin as the Damareteion (Pl. II. 6) is on the reverse, although it is almost universally spoken

of as the obverse type. The reason for this laxity of expression is that on most later coins the head (divine or human) stands on the obverse. Since the head was usually treated in higher relief than the reverse type, the strain on the die was correspondingly greater, and the die with the head was therefore placed where it would receive the greater support from the anvil below it and around its edges. Most numismatists have thus formed a habit, difficult to discard, of thinking of the side of a coin which bears the head as necessarily the obverse, unless the incuse impression is very deep; and in Sicily it is usually shallow. In this volume, the technical significance of the terms obverse (anvil-side) and reverse (upper-side) has been borne in mind.

The dies produced on the blank what as a whole is included in the term 'design.' This consisted essentially of a 'type,' which could be accompanied by symbols and by an inscription; and the whole could be enclosed in a border. The whole space enclosed in the border, or, when there is no border, the surface of the coin, is, so far as it is not occupied by the type, regarded as the 'field'; but from the field itself a subsidiary portion, the segment of the circle below the type, is sometimes cut off by a line; this segment is known as the 'exergue.'

As regards the type, it is unnecessary here to embark on a classification, or to discuss the primary reasons which inspired the selection by a particular city of a particular type; to ask whether the type was selected because it was the badge of the city, or the emblem of the chief deity, or the representation of a commodity, a certain amount of which was equal in value to the coin. Different answers would have to be returned in the case of different cities. The one point which we have to grasp is that, even where the origin of the types may have been commercial, these types yet became, in the time with which we are concerned, connected with the religious cults of the state. To the ordinary person, who knew nothing and cared less about origins, the types had then nothing but a religious significance. Now, to the historian, the light in which a people regard a fact is of more importance, in discovering the springs of action, than the scientific truth about that fact; and for the student of numismatics who works from the standpoint of history, art, or religion, it is more essential to know that the Naxians regarded the bunch of grapes as a symbol of the wine-god, than to know, or assume, that the coin originally represented the value of a certain quantity of wine indicated in some way by the bunch of grapes. This may be admitted without in any way depreciating the value

of the study of the origins of primitive coin-types, as apart from their significance in the period with which we are concerned.

The field of the coin, and the exergue, sometimes contain what in the language of numismatists are known as 'symbols'.<sup>1</sup> These minor elements of the design fulfil various purposes. They must in the first place be distinguished from the adjuncts which are directly related to the type, such as the panther which accompanies a Dionysus, or the eagle in the hand of Zeus. Such adjuncts are distinguished from the true symbol, in the numismatic sense, by the fact that the person or thing of which they are the attributes is represented as the type in the same design; whereas the true numismatic symbol belongs not to the main type, but to something not otherwise represented. It may be the sign of the monetary magistrate who issued the coin, or of the ruler of the state—as I have tried to show in the case of the triskeles in the coinage of Agathocles;

<sup>1</sup> The word 'symbol' will of course be found used in numismatic literature in a wider sense also; the caduceus used as a type by itself, for instance, may be explained as the 'symbol' of Hermes. But no mystic meaning is supposed to be inherent in such 'symbols.' Some of them may have been worshipped in the place of the gods they represent, as the thunderbolt certainly was. But, in thus describing them, the numismatist merely means that these objects are figured with the aim of calling up to the mind the deity, local or other, with whom they are locally associated.

or it may represent some historical event, as possibly does the pistrix on the coins of Hiero. Sometimes, however, it is so drawn into connexion with the main type that it loses its separate symbolism and becomes an essential part of the main design; thus the panoply on the 'medallions' of Syracuse gives significance to the otherwise commonplace type of the victorious chariot and four.

The study of coin-inscriptions is an important department of numismatics. The forms of the letters, the use of this or the other alphabet, may be of the utmost value in determining the date of a coin. These are questions which we shall have, for the most part, to ignore, as leading us into the obscurest corners of the subject. It is necessary, however, to warn the uninitiated that the alphabet and orthography which they find on early coins are not those made familiar by modern texts. Down to the last years of the fifth century E may be used for ε, Η, and ει, and O for ο, ω and ου, although the long vowel signs Η and Ω begin to make their way into the alphabet, sometimes with curious results, some twenty or thirty years earlier. In the meaning of the inscriptions there is great variety. They may consist of the 'ethnic' adjective, used either in agreement with a suppressed word for 'coin,' as ΓΕΛΛΙΟΝ (τετραδράχμων) *i. e.* 'Geloan tetradrachm'; or in the

genitive plural, to show that the coin belongs to the people or the ruler who issued it, as ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ 'coin of the Syracusans,' or ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ 'coin of Hiero.' In the period before the introduction of the long vowel signs, it is often difficult to decide in which of the two cases the word is meant to be understood. Again, we may have the name of the city, ΚΑΤΑΝΕ; or of the city personified, as ΙΜΕΡΑ; or of some deity closely connected with the city, as the river-god ΓΕΛΛΑΣ. Deities such as ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΣ 'Zeus Hellanios' or ΝΙΚΑ 'Victory' may be named; and when, as with ΚΟΡΑΣ 'of the Maiden Goddess,' the name is put in the genitive, the coinage is, so to speak, consecrated to and regarded as the property of the deity. To find an inscription giving the object of issue is comparatively rare in Greek coins; the ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ 'alliance coin' of the fourth century is hardly an instance in point. Marks of value, such as ΠΕΝ for 'pentalitron' (piece of five litrae), are also not too common, denominations being generally expressed by other means.

In a somewhat sketchy way I have now indicated the main aspects in which an ancient coin can be considered; it is to be hoped that the succeeding pages will make these outlines more definite. It is obvious that the kind of evidence afforded by coins is extraordinarily varied.

Not only is it true that here

In one short view, subjected to our eye,  
Gods, emp'rors, heroes, sages, beauties lie;

but the peculiar value of coins lies in their being at once works of art and official productions of the state. The Sicilians, at least, had the good sense to employ the best available artists at their mints, so that the collocation which sounds absurd to a modern Englishman, with his experience of recent issues of the Royal Mint, was to them only obvious. For the historian of art the study of coins is as a guide always at his elbow. These objects—owing to the many aspects from which they can be considered—are more easily dated than any other kind of antiquities. The large series in which they exist enable us to mark with great exactitude the lines along which art developed. For two or three imperfectly preserved works of great sculpture we have hundreds of coins in almost perfect condition. The great sculpture represents the grander summits of the achievement of an age; but the coins show the general level of art, out of which these summits arose, and without which they could not have arisen. And then the question of authenticity! The contempt with which each connoisseur of ancient engraved gems speaks of every other's power of distinguishing between true and false is as disheartening as the

controversies which take place over pieces of goldsmithery. Every one will admit that there are many coins of which the authenticity is disputed, and no numismatist can boast of never having been deceived; but about the vast majority of coins in our great collections there lingers no breath of suspicion. Here then we have a vast and varied mass of authentic evidence; contemporary with the history with which we have to bring it into relation; unspoiled by the redaction of historiographers or pamphleteers; representing the authorities of the state which issued it, and yet reflecting also the individuality of the best artist whom that state could find to employ; filling the gaps in the story of the development of the greater arts, where otherwise we should be reduced to wondering at an odd torso, a few metopes from a temple, or a Roman copy in marble of a Greek bronze; telling us what cults were most prevalent, in what cities, and at what times; and giving withal a more vivid picture of the commercial relations of these cities than any ancient historian could have produced, had he felt the inclination to attempt such a task. The coins of later ages have some of these qualities, but they can be supplemented by other documents of equal veracity. In Greece the coins often provide more than mere footnotes to history. And of all parts of the Greek world, this is most true of Sicily, where



the extraordinary, almost feverish individual development of the independent cities is brilliantly reflected in the constant changes of their currency.

The history of Sicily begins for us with the foundation of the Greek colonies. Some of the earliest pre-Hellenic burial-grounds show traces (probably not all imported) of a culture which is allied to the 'Mycenaean.' The most primitive stratum in the population of the island was probably the race represented in historic times by the Elymians of Segesta, Eryx, Entella, and Halicyae. We need not speculate on their nationality. Crowded into the western corner, they preserved their ancient tongue; but all that remains of it to us is contained in the inscriptions on their coins. Next in point of antiquity come the Sicans and Sicels. The former, said Greek tradition, were Iberians; but we may incline to the modern conjecture that the Sicans, who occupied the western half of the island, formed the vanguard of the Italic immigration to which the Sicels certainly belonged. Their towns were of little importance; the Sicel towns, on the other hand, are too many to enumerate. To the east of a line drawn southwards from Cephaloedium (*Cefalù*), all the old towns where Greek colonies were not founded, such as Agyrium, Centuripae, Henna (the 'navel of

Sicily'), kept their Sicel population down to a late date. They cannot have become thoroughly Hellenized until such time as the Hellenic name itself became merged in the Roman. But foreign elements were easily absorbed by Sicel civilization; the legend of the Rape of Persephone in the fields of Henna cannot have been of Sicel origin; and even the fire-god Hadranus seems to have been an immigrant.

Thucydides tells us that the Greek colonists found the Phoenicians already in occupation of Sicily. Eastern Sicily, however, is singularly barren of traces of Phoenician occupation. How is it that no emporium was founded where the city of Zancle afterwards arose, on the straits of Messina, commanding as it would have done the route to western Italy and southern Gaul; and how is it that Phoenician objects are absent from pre-Hellenic Sicel cemeteries? Probably because the Phoenicians preceded the Greeks in Sicily by very little, if at all. As the Phoenicians worked round by the African coast and the Maltese islands, they naturally colonized the West and North-West; while the Greeks, skirting the southern end of Italy, which they had reached from the nearest point of Greece, seized first on the eastern and north-eastern coasts. Melita (*Malta*), Gaulos (*Gozo*), and Cossura (*Pantellaria*) retained the Punic character long after it had faded from the

Punic foundations on the main island:—Panormus (*Palermo*), Solus (*Solunto*), and Motya, which in the fourth century was superseded by Lilybaeum (*Marsala*).

About 735 the Greek colonizing expeditions began with the foundation of Naxos, the chief element in which was drawn from Chalcis in Euboea, although there must also have been a considerable contingent from the Aegean island of Naxos. From Naxos arose Leontini and Catana; while men of Chalcis and other Euboean cities founded Zancle, on a spot the importance of which had already been seen by freebooters from Cyme on the Italian coast. Zancle itself, about the middle of the seventh century, founded Himera. But another great trading people, the Corinthians, had followed hard on the Chalcidians. In the year after the settling of Naxos there happened a much more important event: the colony of Syracuse was established on the island of Ortygia. Besides some outposts (*Acrae*, *Casmenae*) in the interior, Syracuse founded *Camarina* on the southern coast in the first years of the sixth century. Yet again, in the last quarter of the eighth century, *Megara*, the neighbour of Corinth, founded a city in Sicily; but *Hyblaeon Megara* was too close to Syracuse to flourish. About a century after its foundation it sent forth a band who occupied the most western of Greek sites in the island, at *Selinus*

(*Selinunte*), 'the place of wild celery.' One more Dorian city sent out a colony; early in the seventh century men from Rhodes, with some Cretans, founded Gela; and from Gela, about 580, Acragas (*Girgenti*) took its foundation. This was the last of the great colonies to be set up in the island; but just at this time, or a little later, a band of Rhodians and Cnidians, after a vain attempt to settle where Lilybaeum afterwards arose, contented themselves with a home on the Lipari islands.

The records of Sicily in the sixth century, naturally scanty, tell us of the tyrants of which the city-state in this island, as elsewhere in the Greek world, produced a plentiful crop. The earliest of any importance was the notorious Phalaris, who ruled Acragas in the first half of the century. We hear also of the destruction of Camarina in a war with Syracuse about 550; and of a fruitless attempt by the Spartan prince Dorieus to establish a colony in the heart of Phoenician territory (about 510). The great period of the tyrannis dates from the beginning of the fifth century. Of Anaxilas the coins will tell us much. Hippocrates of Gela brought under his sway not only native tribes but Greek colonies; Camarina he wrested from Syracuse by a great victory on the Helorus. At his death (491) his power passed to one of his officers, Gelo, son of Dinomenes. This

shrewd captain found his opportunity in Syracuse, where the disaster on the Helorus had made the old landed aristocracy, the Gamori, an easy prey to the popular party (about 485). Amid the ensuing anarchy, Gelo established himself in Syracuse, and, drawing new citizens from Gela, Camarina, Megara, and the Chalcidian colony of Euboea, made Syracuse once and for all the greatest of Sicilian cities. Statesman as well as general, he allied his house by marriage with Thero, the ruler of Acragas and Himera.

Coincident with the climax of the Persian War came the first serious clash between Greeks and Phoenicians. It had been threatening ever since Phoenicians and Etruscans had combined to oust the Greeks from Alalia, their colony in Corsica. Instigated by Terillus, the fugitive ruler of Himera, and supported by Anaxilas of Rhegium and Zancle, the Carthaginians poured a great army under Hamilcar into Sicily by the port of Panormus. The contest was short and sharp; Gelo and Thero inflicted an absolutely crushing defeat on the Punic general, who was besieging Himera (480). Syracuse and its leader were without question supreme in Sicilian politics.

The best of the harvest sown by Gelo was reaped by his brother Hiero, who succeeded him in 478.

The court graced by Aeschylus, Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides, Epicharmus, was the most brilliant in the world. But Hiero was great in war also, and broke the sea-power of Etruria in the battle of Cyme (474). Now Syracuse counted no rival among the Greek states of the West. Nevertheless the aggressively military form of Hiero's power made his rule unpopular, although its foundation lay in Hellenic unity against the barbarian. The fall of the tyrannis in Acragas and Himera (about 472) was a presage of the revolution which broke out in Syracuse at the death of Hiero (466), and ended in 465 in the fall of his brother and successor Thrasybulus. This again was the signal for a general revolution and the setting up of democracies all over the island. By 461 there was 'liberty' throughout Greek Sicily. But at the same time there was an uprising of the native Sicels. Acting at first as an ally of the Syracusan democrats, the Sicel chief Ducetius organized a national movement, took one Greek stronghold after another, even set up a capital, Palice, and was only checked by the Syracusans, whose victory (about 450) extinguished the hopes of a Sicel kingdom. Syracuse had now once more saved the Greek cities. Unable to brook that loss of her supremacy which had of necessity followed on the breaking down of the tyranny, she fell into strife with her

rival Acragas. A battle on the river Himeras settled the question in her favour (about 446).

It is about this time that we perceive the first indications of serious intervention by Athens in Sicilian affairs. It begins with the establishment of friendly relations with the two Elymian cities of Segesta and Halicyae. In 433 Leontini signed a treaty with Athens. It was the importance of Corcyra for Athenian relations with the West that precipitated the Peloponnesian War with all its fateful consequences. In 427 a war was raging between Syracuse (supported by Gela, Selinus, Himera, Lipara, and Messana) on the one side, and on the other Catania, Leontini, Naxos, Camarina, aided from Italy by Rhegium, and at home by the Sicels. Athens dispatched a squadron to help the anti-Syracusan party. But the intervention, supported though it was two years later by a fresh fleet, did little but draw the Siceliotes together through suspicion of Athenian disinterestedness; so that peace was signed in 424. But when the Athenian ally Leontini fell into the power of Syracuse, and when in 416 war broke out between Segesta and Selinus, Athens was bound to make her hand felt. The expedition, as every one knows, ended tragically for the Athenian Empire in the slaughter on the Assinarus (413). Syracuse owed it chiefly to her great citizen Hermocrates that

she now stood higher than ever, high enough to intervene in the war in the Aegean. But the Athenian disaster had an unexpected result. The remnant of Athenian allies, who held out in Segesta and Eryx, in their distress appealed to Carthage. The Punic interests in western Sicily were threatened by the growing power of Selinus: hence the great invasion under Hannibal in 409. Selinus fell speedily, amid horrible slaughter; Himera too was destroyed for ever. A second expedition in 406 came against Acragas, which a Greek army of 30,000 men failed to save.

In faction-torn Syracuse, these failures against the barbarians were the opportunity of Dionysius, a brilliant officer of the party of Hermocrates. He became sole general in 405; but his new-born power was all but shattered by his failure to do more than bring off the inhabitants of Gela and Camarina. This danger suppressed, he found the Punic general, whose army was decimated by sickness, ready to make terms. Dionysius himself was to be ruler of Syracuse; Catana, Leontini, and other Greek cities, also the Sicels, were to be independent; and the Carthaginians were to retain their conquests. Hardly had he made peace, when a second internal revolt reduced him to extremities. His adroitness saved him, and he provided against the recrudescence of



such troubles by establishing a pseudo-constitutional government. Council and General Assembly had the right to declare war and levy direct taxes on the property of citizens; but we cannot doubt that the man who controlled the army and navy, appointed the officers, and held in his hands all the threads of the executive, must have controlled also the Council and General Assembly. Safely established in Syracuse, Dionysius proceeded to consolidate his power in eastern Sicily, allying himself with his neighbours where he could not destroy them. The whole of Syracuse from the isthmus outwards was his castle; the new fortifications on Epipolae made the city one of the strongest in the world. The Carthaginian War, the ultimate object of such preparations, began in 397. The first Greek successes were speedily wiped out by Himilco, and in 396 Dionysius was shut up in Syracuse. His walls, the pestilent marshes of the Anapus, and the ready help afforded from Greeks outside Sicily, saved him, and the war ended in a fearful disaster to the Carthaginian arms. Dionysius was at first free to do what he pleased with all but a small part of the island; he was the 'ruler of Sicily.' Nevertheless he was soon disturbed by a Sicel rebellion, supported by Rhegium, and involving the revolt of Acragas, together with a renewed Carthaginian invasion. Peace was signed

once more in 392, and he now turned his attention to the Italiot Greeks. By 387 he found himself master of all that he desired in southern Italy. He founded colonies to promote trade in the Adriatic, and inflicted a heavy blow on the Etruscan power in the Tyrrhenian Sea. But not content so long as a Semite remained on Sicilian soil, he turned once more against his old enemy. Again at first successful on the field of Cabala, he was eventually defeated at the Cronium. Both sides suffered heavily. Dionysius surrendered all that he had held west of the Halycus, but the Italiots who had joined Carthage were delivered into his hand. He seems to have restored order in Italy to his own liking. In the next few years (372-367) we find him playing a great part in Greek politics, as a friend not only of Sparta, but of Athens, which had the satisfaction of passing a decree in his honour (368), making a formal alliance with him (367), and—awarding him the first prize for a tragedy! His reign ended as it had begun with an unsuccessful Carthaginian war. He failed to take Lilybaeum, and was forced to make peace. He had failed to dislodge his enemy from Sicily, but he had made it impossible that they should dislodge the Greeks. That the Greek rivals of Syracuse were extinguished or absorbed in her is, beside this fact, a small matter.

Dionysius was succeeded (367) by his son of the same name, an easy-going and incapable ruler. The weakness of the young tyrant was turned to advantage by Dion, the son of Hipparinus. Dion's sister, Aristomache, had been the second wife of Dionysius the elder, and Dion himself married Arete, the issue of that union. His intrigues against the throne were at first checked by exile; but in his retirement he enlisted the sympathies of the haters of tyranny (Plato among them), and was able to raise a force with which in 357 he landed at Heraclea. Here, as the enemy of the Syracusan tyrant, he was well received by the Punic governor. The siege of Syracuse which ensued was prolonged by the jealousy entertained of Dion by many of his supporters; and these friends of reform were justified by the performances of their general when he was established in Syracuse. He was murdered in 353, and amid the wretched faction-struggles which followed Dionysius recovered his power (346). Tyrants sprang up once more in all the Greek cities, now independent of Syracuse; the Carthaginians swept into their net the cities of the southern coast.

In Leontini, under the tyrant Hicetas, some of Dion's party were sheltered, and at their request Corinth again came to the rescue. Timoleon, one of the noblest, most disinterested statesmen in

history, landed with a small force in 345. But Hicetas, who had succeeded in shutting up Dionysius in Ortygia, would none of him, and preferred a Carthaginian alliance. Timoleon, however, defeated Hicetas at Hadranum, and was joined by many waverers, including Dionysius. He was thus enabled to occupy Ortygia, which was invested by land and sea; but Greek and Carthaginian worked ill together, and eventually withdrawing left Syracuse to the liberator, who razed the fortress to the ground. He could now face the Carthaginians as leader of the united Greeks; for even Hicetas was reconciled to him. He advanced to the West and defeated the enemy with fearful slaughter on the Crimisus (about 340). The tyrants, feeling that their own turn was to come, now revolted. But Timoleon, being free from fear of Carthage, who renounced all territory east of the Halycus, put down one tyrant after another, sparing only Andromachus of Tauromenium, who had never swerved in his fidelity to the liberator's cause. In Syracuse, and probably in other cities, a moderate democracy was established. The citizenship of Syracuse was strengthened by contingents from Greece and from other Sicilian cities, that it might be the centre of the Siceliote federation. Other places, which had long lain waste, were restored. Peace and prosperity revived the small

towns in the interior. Dionysius' task of unifying the Sicels and Siceliotes against the Phoenician intruder was carried one stage further, and Timoleon, after eight years of unremitting labour, laid down his power, to spend the rest of his days, blind but honoured, as a private citizen of the state to which he had given peace.

But the spirit of faction was too strong for even Timoleon's work to last. The council of six hundred was controlled by the oligarchic party; the opposition was chiefly led by the adventurer Agathocles. In the exile to which his enemies condemned him, he fought and intrigued against them, and at last succeeded in returning to Syracuse as general, with a commission to restore order. This he effected by the judicial massacre of the representatives of oligarchy. The grateful people elected him sole general (317-316); and he now ruled all eastern Sicily except Messina, Gela, and Acragas. These three cities, supported by a Spartan general and by Tarentum, attempted to crush him; all they gained was the recognition of the autonomy of the Greek cities under the hegemony of Syracuse (313). So far the Carthaginian governor Hamilcar had been Agathocles' good friend; but under his successor war broke out (312-311). Agathocles had just succeeded in subjugating Messina; but before Acragas

he failed, and any successes he achieved were cancelled by his defeat at Ecnomus (310). His allies fell away, and he was shut up in Syracuse. It was now that he conceived the audacious plan of carrying war into the enemy's country. Slipping out of Syracuse, he was chased all the way to Africa (310), but landed safely and inflicted a defeat on the Punic generals. With his head quarters at Tunis, he reduced a great part of the enemy's territory, winning victory after victory. But all this had little effect on his affairs at home. Hamilcar, it is true, was captured in an attack on Syracuse, and the land-siege was raised; but the blockade was maintained by sea. Agragas organized a new and independent Siceliote league, to deliver the land at once from Carthage and from tyranny—plans which were wrecked by a Syracusan victory in 307. Meanwhile Agathocles continued to carry all before him in Africa. In 308 he had been joined by Ophelas, ruler of Cyrenaica, with a great army. We do no injustice to the most treacherous of Syracusan tyrants in supposing that the murder of Ophelas was premeditated; Agathocles needed the reinforcements, but an Ophelas as ruler of Carthage would be more dangerous than Carthage as she was. The increase in Agathocles' forces caused an abortive attempt at revolution by the Carthaginian peace-party. We are led to believe that Agathocles went

on conquering territory; but his extraordinary adversary possessed an inexhaustible power of raising armies, and Agathocles began to feel that he was needed at home. Landing at Selinus just after the defeat of the Acragantines, he captured a few cities, and raised the blockade of Syracuse. But the Syracusan exiles under Dinocrates were too strong for him in the field. In Africa, meanwhile, Agathocles' son Archagathus was reduced to extremities; the tyrant hurried over to find him besieged in Tunis, the army demoralized, the allies melted away. Sacrificing his ambitions he escaped to Sicily (307). His deserted army thereupon killed his sons and made terms with Carthage.

In Sicily, where the exiles under Dinocrates were enormously strong, Agathocles was forced to make an agreement with Carthage; then, freed from his fears on this side, he was able to defeat Dinocrates (305). The leader of the exiles joined him; seven thousand men, who had made terms, were butchered; and all Greek Sicily outside the Carthaginian border recognized 'king' Agathocles as head of the Siceliote confederation. Peace prevailed in the island until the tyrant's death in 289. He was thus free to act in southern Italy and in Corcyra, which he did with so much success that his daughter Lanassa had the island for her dowry when she was married

to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, in 295. While planning once more to attack the Carthaginians, Agathocles was struck down by his last illness. Strife between his son and designated successor Agathocles and his grandson Archagathus made his last days miserable. The son Agathocles was murdered, and the father died, leaving Syracuse with Archagathus and his army outside the walls. Archagathus himself was murdered by a supporter, Meno of Egesta. This man, the Syracusan exiles, and the Carthaginians were now all gathered round the unhappy city. The Syracusans under Hicetas were forced to make terms, but were fortunate enough to get rid of the Agathoclean mercenaries. Promising to leave the island, these barbarians were unable to resist the temptations of Messana, which thus (about 288) became the city of the 'children of Mamers.' Amid the general disorder, the usual crop of tyrants sprang up. Notably, Phintias of Acragas rose to a position to which that of Hicetas in Syracuse was secondary. The Mamertines ranged over the island, plundering and destroying; even Gela and Camarina fell before them. The Carthaginians too had their own way, and probably about this time they occupied the Liparaean islands. About 280 came a reaction against this anarchy. Phintias was replaced by another tyrant; Syracuse became free. There was



a general agreement, even on the part of many of the tyrants (279), to ask King Pyrrhus to deliver the island from the Carthaginian and the Mamertine. In spite of his war with Rome, in spite too of the strenuous efforts of Carthaginian diplomacy, the adventurous Epirote landed at Tauromenium in 278. Recognized as leader of the Siceliotes, he inflicted serious defeats on the Mamertines, and took all the Carthaginian strongholds except Lilybaeum. Against this rock his strength was shattered. His popularity waned, his mildness turned to harsh autocracy. A general revolt broke out, and the Carthaginians regained what they had lost. Meanwhile Rome was achieving no small success in Italy, and in 275, after inflicting a parting blow on Carthage, Pyrrhus sailed away. As he failed in Sicily against Carthage, so he failed in Italy against Rome. The two powers of the West were to fight out their struggle for themselves.

Pyrrhus left the Mamertines no weaker than he found them, and their bitter struggle with Syracuse continued. Carthage, content with the recovery of her old possessions, gave little trouble. In Syracuse itself, Hiero, the son of Hierocles, was set up by the army as its leader (274), and by his good qualities won over the citizens to his side. He confined the Mamertines to the neighbourhood of

Messana, and finally inflicted on them a crushing defeat. Carthage intervened to save them from the extreme consequences of this disaster, and placed a garrison in their citadel. Hiero's success won him the title of King of the Siceliotes (269).

In their desperate plight the Mamertines sought an alliance with Rome, not without success (265-264). The Carthaginian commandant was frightened from his post, and Carthage and Hiero joined hands to prevent active intervention on the part of Rome. But the Roman consul landed (264); and his successes first roused Hiero's suspicions of Punic faith, and then brought him definitely over to the Roman side (263). With his invaluable help the Romans made good their footing in many places, even in far Eryx and Halicyae; but they had many enemies, who preferred the old adversary to the new. Acragas fell before the Roman arms after a seven months' siege, was re-taken, and eventually destroyed. In 261 the Romans won the great sea-fight off Mylae; and when in 258 they took Camarina, they already possessed the greater part of the interior. Above all, the fall of Panormus in 254 secured to them the north coast; Thermae and Lipara were captured in 252. A long struggle continued to the end of the war round Eryx and its harbour Drepanum. Metellus' great victory over the elephants near

Panormus (250) compelled the enemy to evacuate Selinus and Heraclea Minoa. Little remained to Carthage now but Lilybaeum, part of Eryx, and Drepanum. The Romans, in spite of the exploits of Hamilcar Barca, stood stubbornly to the siege of Lilybaeum, until the war was ended by the sea-fight of Aegusa. Sicily was left to the Romans and Hiero (241). The head quarters of the Roman government were fixed at Lilybaeum; Messana was regarded as an allied city, and exempt from the rule of the praetors; Panormus, Centuripae, Halaesa, Egesta, and Halicyae, all of which, save the first and second, had joined Rome voluntarily, were made free and immune from taxation. Tribute, in the form of tithes, was paid to Rome by all the other states except Syracuse, which, with its territory, remained autonomous. The reward of Hiero's prudent statesmanship was that his realm enjoyed a comparatively long period of peace, and that his coffers were filled to overflowing. His taxes were heavy; but the land was very rich. The latter half of his reign is the happiest period in the history of ancient Sicily. But the outbreak of the Second Punic War marred its close. True to his alliance, Hiero assisted the Romans, and kept down the rebellious tendencies which showed themselves in Sicily.

Towards the end of his reign he had associated his

son Gelo with himself in the kingship. Unfortunately Gelo died before his father, and thus in 215 the power descended to Gelo's eldest son, Hieronymus, a typical tyrant's child, who speedily made an outward display of the despotism which Hiero had concealed. Thanks to the most influential of his advisers, Hadranodorus, the key-stone of Hiero's policy, the Roman alliance, was soon displaced. The Punic agents, Hippocrates and his brother Epicydes, prevailed; and in 214 the Sicilian war began. Hieronymus himself was murdered at the outset. The vacillations of Syracusan policy during the next few months were extraordinary. The Hannibalian agents, however, eventually succeeded in definitely committing the majority of the Syracusans to the Punic side; and the Roman general Marcellus began the siege. Its length was due to the careful fortifications completed by Hiero, and to the mechanical genius of Archimedes, whose engines played with the enemy as with toys. The Punic army and fleet were active against Marcellus; the whole of the interior was in more or less open revolt. Many that had wavered were driven into the arms of Carthage by the massacre of the citizens of Henna, whom the Romans suspected of an inclination to desert (213). But the Roman fleet commanded the north coast, and at last the besieging

army established itself on Epipolae. The fort of Euryalus was cut off and capitulated. On the heights of Epipolae the Roman army escaped the worst of the malaria which thinned the ranks of Carthaginians and Siceliotes; and the Carthaginian fleet failed to relieve the city. Negotiations were begun, but dragged on, owing to the conflicting interests within the city; so that Marcellus welcomed the treachery of an officer which admitted his troops into Ortygia. To the sack which ensued the present poverty of Syracuse in works of art is largely due.

The Siceliotes did not come in as soon as might have been expected; Marcellus' conditions were too hard, and the Carthaginians, thanks chiefly to the brilliant exploits of Myttones, offered considerable resistance. Marcellus, however, won a striking victory on the Himeras (211), before leaving the war to be concluded by Laevinus. Myttones, whom his jealous colleague Hanno treated with indignity, betrayed Acragas to the Roman general, and with that the war was over (210). Sicily was now finally organized as a province; Syracuse, of course, became the chief seat of government. The restoration of peace brought about the revival of agriculture, just when the war in Italy was raising prices in Rome to famine figures.

The chief events in Sicilian history of the second

century were an outcome of the economic conditions of the time. The high development of the plantation-system brought about a desperate slave-revolt in 134. For three years the daring leaders of the slaves harried the island, in spite of the best armies that Rome could send against them. A second war, with almost precisely similar features, broke out in 104 and lasted for five years.

Under Roman administration, Sicily, like other provinces under the Republic, suffered from the extortions of the government officials, and has furnished us with the most notorious example of the kind:—Gaius Verres (propraetor from 73–70), who has been immortalized by Cicero.

In the civil wars of the end of the Republic, Sicily played a passive part. It was occupied without a blow by Caesar's lieutenant, Gaius Curio, Cato prudently withdrawing to Africa. It was Caesar's naval base during the war in Africa (47). It was occupied again by Sextus Pompeius from 43 to 36; and Rome felt grievously the lack of Sicilian corn. Eventually, Agrippa's victory off Naulochus placed the island in Octavian's hands.

Under the new régime, introduced by Julius Caesar and developed by Marcus Antonius, all the Sicilian communities received either the Roman or the Latin franchise. Augustus planted several colonies:



Tauromenium had already received a colony, probably in 36; in 21 he founded Syracuse, Catina, Tyndaris, Thermae, Panormus. But although the land enjoyed a measure of material prosperity under the Empire, it ceased to possess any importance from a historical point of view, until the beginning of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER I  
THE EARLIEST COINAGE

BEFORE 480 B. C.

AT the time of the introduction of coinage into Sicily the great period of Greek colonization in the western Mediterranean had all but come to a close, and along the Sicilian shores the early outposts of Greek trade had developed into flourishing cities. Only in the extreme western corner, along the western portion of the north coast, and in the rough interior, did the Phoenician merchant settlers and the descendants of the earliest inhabitants, Elymians, Sicans and Sicels, hold their own. The last important Greek foundation in the island was Acragas (Agrigentum), settled from the neighbouring Gela about 580 B. C.

It is just possible that some of the earliest Sicilian coins may belong to the closing years of the seventh century; but with this reservation we must think of the Siceliote Greeks before 600 B. C. as conducting their trade partly with uncoined metal in the shape of bars, spits, or rings, and partly, doubtless, with coins



brought from their homeland of Greece, where the early coinage was now in full vigour. Athenian tetradrachms, for instance, both of the earliest and of the later style, are frequently found in Sicily. Much of the trade from Greece passed westward through the Sicilian straits, and up the Italian coast to Cyme (Cumae), a colony founded (probably in the last third of the eighth century) by the people of Cyme in Euboea. Trade-ships coming from Euboea would find welcome at Naxos, Catana, Leontini, and Zancle; and on rounding the Cape Pelorus and sailing along the north coast, they would be greeted by the Greeks of Himera, lonely upholders of Greek civilization among barbarous Sicels and Phoenicians.

Three of this important group of five cities produced the first coins ever struck in Sicily. They are of silver (the only metal which was coined in the island until late in the fifth century), and rude enough, but excessively interesting, particularly those of Zancle. This port, afterwards called Messana, with its sickle-shaped harbour, took its name from the native word for sickle—*danklon*. And accordingly on the earliest coins (Pl. I. 1), which are inscribed DANĀLE, we see figured, by a kind of symbolism not uncommon on Greek coins, a dolphin (emblem of the sea-god and the sea-waves) lying within a curved object evidently

meant to represent the shape of the harbour. This is the type of the obverse; the reverse of the earliest coins shows merely the same type incuse. At first sight unremarkable, this last fact attains historical importance when we remember that the only Greek coins that represent incuse on the reverse the type which is given in relief on the obverse belong to a federal coinage issued by certain cities in southern Italy, under some sort of commercial agreement. It follows therefore that the Chalcidian Zancle, the nearest to Italy of Sicilian cities, was obliged in some degree to come into line with Rhegium and the powerful Achaean colonies, Croton, Metapontum, and others. These incuse coins of Zancle were soon, however, replaced by a more ordinary sort (Fig. 1), which have



FIG. 1. ZANCLE: DRACHM.

for reverse type a small scallop-shell. On some of them (Pl. I. 2) the sickle-shaped object on the obverse is broad, and adorned at intervals with projections. That these are meant to represent towers or buildings on the edge of the harbour, as Mr. Arthur Evans has suggested, we may hesitate to admit; but no better

explanation has been given. The complicated arrangement of spaces on the reverse of the coins is probably without special significance; the end of the die with which the reverse was struck was cut up in order to give it a firmer grip on the blank, and this disposition of areas served the same purpose as the 'mill-sail' incuse square, which we shall meet with presently.

The earliest types of Naxos (Pl. I. 3) are connected with the wine-god Dionysus, whose worship, while naturally important in this vine-producing district, was probably in the first instance brought from the Aegean island of Naxos (where coins with the wine-cup type prove that it flourished). We find on the coins of the Sicilian port an exceedingly archaic head of Dionysus with pointed beard, wreathed with the Dionysiac ivy. On the reverse is the inscription NAXION, and a vine-twig with a bunch of grapes.

Finally, Himera (Pl. I. 4) has a type—the cock—which by a not very satisfactory conjecture is usually explained as a pun on the name of the place, the cock being the bird that ushers in the day (*hemera*). Since the healing baths near Himera were famous, it is perhaps more reasonable to explain the cock as the bird sacred to the healing-god who must have been worshipped there. The

cock, we know, was sacred to Asklepios. The reverse of the earliest coins of Himera has the 'mill-sail' incuse impression, so-called from the treatment of its four quarters so as to represent the sloping sails of a windmill. Slightly later, but still within our first period, are the coins on which a hen appears as the reverse type (Pl. I. 5). The earliest coins are uninscribed, or else have one or two letters, which have not been adequately explained, but which do not seem to represent the name Himera. On the later coins with the hen the town name is generally written HIME, but this is sometimes replaced by an inscription which has long been a puzzle. Mr. George Macdonald has recently shown that there is no substantial foundation for the usual reading IATON, and that the letters seem, in part at least, to represent the legend ΣΟΤΕΡ ('Saviour'), written backwards. This word, which appears on later coins of Himera (Pl. IV. 5), may be an epithet of the chief deity worshipped at the place, or more probably of the local nymph or personification of the city—for we find it written beside her on the later coins, and Aeschylus and Sophocles give evidence that this masculine form can be used as a name of the goddess Tyche, the Fortune of the State.

The weights of the coins described above are

peculiar among the standards in use in Sicily, and we may pause here for a moment to consider them in connexion with the question of Sicilian standards in general. The weights, which correspond to those of the coins of Cyme and Rhegium on the Italian coast, appear to belong to the system known as Aeginetic, from the fact that the coins of Aegina are the most important currency conforming to it. The drachm of this standard weighs about 90 grains troy—the weight in our period of the largest coins of the three Sicilian cities just mentioned<sup>1</sup>. But the silver of the other Sicilian cities belongs to another system, called the Euboic-Attic, because the early coins of Euboea and Athens are among its chief representatives. Now the four-drachm piece in this system weighed about 270 grains troy, and contained 24 obols. It follows that three Aeginetic drachms of 90 grains each were equivalent to one Euboic-Attic tetradrachm of 270 grains, while each Aeginetic drachm contained about 8 obols of the Euboic-Attic standard, the two systems thus working conveniently into each other.

It is true that Dr. Imhoof-Blumer regards these

<sup>1</sup> A curious specimen of Zancle in the Ward Collection (no. 202) weighs 146.3 grains troy. As it is much worn, it may once have represented an Aeginetic didrachm; but the loss by wear (about 33 grains) seems excessive; and it is best to await the discovery of a better preserved specimen.

apparently Aeginetic drachms as really thirds of the Euboic-Attic tetradrachm, or Euboic-Attic octobols; the division of the large coin into thirds instead of halves and quarters being in his view suggested by a similar divisional system at Corinth. But the weights of certain small coins which do not fit into the Euboic-Attic standard have been shown to be unfavourable to this theory. Whatever be the solution of the difficulty, so great was the importance of the cities which used the Euboic-Attic standard, that by the close of our first period the three Chalcidian cities had abandoned their original standard and fallen into line with their rivals.

But before the advent of the Greeks, Sicily had possessed a standard of its own, based on the pound or *litra* of bronze. For bronze was in Sicily, as in Italy, the standard metal of native commerce. The *litra* of bronze corresponded in value to about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  grains troy of silver, and a silver coin of this weight was consequently known as the silver *litra*. Even during the 'incuse' period of the Zanclean coinage, silver *litrae* were issued, as the Aeginetic could not be harmonized with the native system. On the other hand, since this silver *litra* was just one-twentieth of the Euboic-Attic tetradrachm of 270 grains, it was easy for the Greeks to bring the Euboic-Attic system into harmony with that of

the Sicel natives. The union of the two may be conveniently expressed in the following table :—

<i>Euboic-Attic name.</i>	<i>Sicel name.</i>	<i>Wt. in grains troy.</i>
Decadrachm	50-litra piece	675
Tetradrachm	20-litra piece	270
Didrachm	10-litra piece	135
Drachm	5-litra piece	67.5
	Litra	13.5
Obol		11.25

The three Chalcidian cities having once adopted a coinage of their own, it was inevitable that their friends and rivals should follow suit. Syracuse above all, but also Acragas, Camarina, Catana, Gela, Leontini, and Selinus were coining, most of them plentifully, before the end of our first period; even the half barbarous Eryx in the far West has left us coins with Greek inscriptions of this early date.

The first issue of Syracusan coins is placed by Mr. Head in the time of the Gamori. Holm on the other hand is inclined to think that such an important innovation must have been introduced by the democracy after the expulsion of the oligarchs.

Whatever its date, the Syracusan coinage begins with designs (Pl. I. 6), which are the prototypes of the composition of the famous Syracusan 'medallions' of later times. On the obverse is a four-horse

chariot, the horses walking slowly<sup>1</sup>. By a convention betraying the inability of the engraver to represent in so small a space all four horses, only two are really delineated, their outlines being doubled. The chariot is one of the racing-cars with which so many Sicilians, tyrants or private citizens, gained victories at the Greek games. Above the chariot are the letters ΣΥΡΑ, or ΣΥΡΑ-ΦΟΣΙΟΝ. The earliest tetradrachm has on its reverse merely the square mark of the die, divided into four quarters. This issue is as yet represented by a unique specimen in a private collection. On the reverse of the next issue is a female head treated in a style a good deal more advanced than that of the Naxian Dionysus, and placed in the centre of an incuse square which is treated in the 'mill-sail' manner. Whom does the head represent? Arguing from later coins we might say that it is the goddess of Victory; or the nymph Arethusa, whose fresh waters rose up in the island of Ortygia, on which the original Syracuse was founded; or even the goddess Persephone,

<sup>1</sup> In addressing Hiero in his fifth ode as *εὐμοιρε Συρακοσίων ἵπποδινῆτων στραταγέ*, Bacchylides of course refers to the Syracusan devotion to horse-racing. It has been thought that the chariot-group of the coins was in the poet's mind; but it was not until after his time that the treatment of the group on the coins became lively enough to justify his epithet 'whirled along by horses.'



whose worship was so prominent in Sicily. Yet another suggestion is Artemis, who from primitive times had been worshipped in Ortygia. Of these interpretations the second and the fourth are the more probable, but none is certain.

As time goes on, and the artist's hand gains in cunning, a great change is perceptible in the style of the Syracusan coins (Pl. I. 7). The treatment of the horses is less wooden; but, what is more significant, the head, which fills so modest a place on the earliest coins, is increased in size, and generally attains importance. It will be long indeed before it is promoted to the obverse side of the coin, except on the smallest denominations; but on pieces struck towards the end of our present period it already attracts as much attention as the obverse type. The head, as representing the goddess or nymph worshipped on the island of Ortygia, is surrounded by dolphins. It is also encircled by a faint line along which the heads of the dolphins, and the letters of the inscription are ranged. The inscription still preserves the archaic sign ϙ (koppa), which towards the end of our period is superseded by the κ (kappa). On the obverse the chariot is marked as victorious by the addition of a figure of Victory, hovering above the horses, and about to place a crown on their heads.

The obverse-type of the two-drachm piece (Pl. I. 8) represents not a four-horse chariot, but, more appropriately, two horses, one of them led by a man riding the other. The drachm (Pl. I. 9) has, as we should expect, a single horseman. On this and on the smaller coins, the litra and the obol (none of which, probably, is older than about 485 B. C.), the dolphins are dispensed with. Further, on the litra (Pl. I. 10) and obol (Pl. I. 11) the head is transferred to the obverse, which is seldom, if ever, the case on the larger coins until the end of the century. The obol has for its distinguishing type the chariot-wheel; while the litra has the sepia or squid. This last type—having nothing to do with the chariot or horses—at once marks out the coin on which it occurs as belonging in reality to a different system from the others.

We may now pass from Syracuse—where by this time the old democracy had been replaced by the brilliant rule of Gelo—to some of the other cities. In 494 there was a sudden change in the affairs of Zancle. Much is obscure in the history of this period; but the best explanation seems to be that Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium across the straits, induced certain Samians, who were on their way to find a home in Sicily, to seize by treachery the city of Zancle; that he colonized it with a mixture of

Samians and Messenians (from his old home of Messene in Greece), and gave the name of Messene to the new settlement. Consequently, the types of a lion's head facing, and of a calf's head in profile (Pl. I. 12), both of which remind one of Samos, appear on coins struck in this city, together with the inscription *MESSENION*, which by its form betrays the Ionian origin of the majority of the inhabitants. But suddenly there comes a change; new coins are struck, with the types of a racing-car drawn by mules, and a hare (Pl. I. 13); and very shortly afterwards, the second vowel in the name of the people is changed from *e* to *a*, so that we have the inscription *MESSANION* (Pl. I. 14). In other words the Ionian inhabitants are no longer allowed to have their way and say as opposed to the Dorians. The types are the types of Anaxilas, who is said by Aristotle to have introduced hares into Sicily, and, having won the mule-car race at Olympia, to have placed the mule-car and the hare on the coinage of Rhegium. What he himself did at Rhegium he made his dependants do at Messene. Then, a few years before the close of our period, occurred a breach with the Samians in Messene; they were expelled, and the Doric element in the new population became preponderant, not without exerting an influence on the

dialect in which the inscription on the coins was written.

Of the other Chalcidian colonies, Leontini can only have begun to issue coins towards the end of our period. Perhaps, being an inland city, it did not rise to importance so early as its neighbours on the coast. The obverse type of the tetradrachm (Pl. I. 15) is a chariot, usually proceeding at a slow pace, Victory flying above the horses; on the reverse, the badge of the city, a lion's head with open jaws, is surrounded by four barley-corns, significant of the fertility of the Leontine plains. The inscription is ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Whether the lion's head was merely suggested by the name of the city, as is the case with canting types in modern heraldry, or whether it was adopted because the animal was sacred to Apollo, of the importance of whose worship at Leontini the later coins give ample evidence, is a question which cannot be discussed with much profit.

The smaller coins of Leontini are mostly of later style, and fall into the next period.

The issues of Catana begin with some remarkable pieces struck towards or perhaps just after the close of our period. Their style (Pl. I. 16) is so advanced that we should be tempted to date them later, did we not happen to know that the Catanaeans were expelled from their city in 476 B.C. by the tyrant Hiero. The



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river Amenanus, on which the city stood, is represented by a bull with a human head; one knee is bent to indicate that he is swimming. Of this symbolism we shall meet with remarkable examples at Gela. Below the bull on most specimens is a river-fish; above is an aquatic bird of some kind. Thus we have the river represented with the fish that inhabit its depths and the birds that haunt its surface. Other symbols are found on other specimens; thus on some a Silenus is represented in a running attitude over the bull, very much as on the famous Tirynthian fresco; while below is a sea-monster, of which we shall have something to say when we find it again on the coins of Syracuse. On the reverse, with the inscription ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΝ, is a figure of Victory, advancing with a wreath in her right hand, and holding up the skirt of her chiton with her left; or, on other specimens, carrying in her right an untied fillet, such as those with which victors in athletic contests were decorated, and in her left a wreath or branch.

It is only by their great numbers that the early coins of Acragas give any indication of the splendid series which is to follow in later times. Some of them may be as early as the middle of the sixth century. The eagle here (Pl. I. 17; II. 1) is probably to be regarded as the bird of Zeus; the crab,

which is generally identified as a freshwater species—*Telphusa fluviatilis*—must have been plentiful in the river Acragas<sup>1</sup>. The inscription is ΑΚΡΑΚΑΝΤΟΣ, often abbreviated to ΑΚΡΑ (Pl. I. 17).

The great city of Gela also began to issue money (Pl. II. 4) only a few years before 480 B. C. With the chariot-type we are already familiar; but the forepart of the swimming bull is new and striking. We shall see the monstrous river-god, the personification of the savage force of the roaring stream, represented with greater skill, perhaps, on some of the later pieces of this mint; but even on these early coins we find an admirable illustration of the felicity of Vergil's use of epithet:

immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta  
*Aen.* III. 702.

Could he have seen some such coin as this?

The inscription ΚΕΛΑΣ is placed on the reverse, and must be taken as giving the name not of the city so much as of the river.

Camarina struck some small coins (litrae) during the ten years that elapsed between its restoration by Hippocrates of Gela in 495, and its destruction

<sup>1</sup> Holm, on the other hand, regards it as a marine species: *Eriphia spinifrons*. Prof. F. J. Bell informs me that, although owing to the impossible representation of the crab's legs he cannot decide definitely, he inclines to *Telphusa*; the spiny front of *E. spinifrons* is certainly not shown.

by Gelo in 485. The types (Fig. 2) are a quaint figure of Victory flying, with a swan below her,



FIG. 2. CAMARINA: LITRA.

the whole enclosed in a border of olive leaves, and a figure of the goddess Athena, resting on her spear. Athena's shield is at her feet, and she wears a large crested helmet and her aegis with its snaky fringe. The inscription is usually ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ. We shall have more to say of these types when we come to the later coins.

We must close our sketch of the earliest period with a brief reference to the remote cities of Western Sicily. Eryx at this time shows by its types of eagle and crab (Pl. II. 2) that it was under the influence of Acragas. The inscription is ΕΡΥΚΙΝΟΝ. The eagle sometimes stands on the capital of an Ionic column. In this position the bird has been explained as symbolizing victory, the capital being supposed to indicate the column which marked the goal in a Greek race-course. It is, however, equally possible that the capital is merely put, by a kind of shorthand, for a temple, and that the bird is here, as usual, the bird of Zeus.

Selinus took its name from the *selimon* plant

which grew in the neighbourhood, and a golden model of which the inhabitants once dedicated in the temple of the Delphian Apollo. We could therefore hardly hesitate to recognize in the type of the earliest coins (Pl. II. 3, 5) a formalized representation of the plant, even if Plutarch<sup>1</sup> did not tell us that the selinon was the symbol or badge of the city. It is probably to be identified with the wild celery—*apium graveolens*—which still grows near Selinus. The question of its identity has been fiercely disputed; those who wish to form an opinion for themselves may remember that comparison of the living plant should be made with many, and not merely with one, of the representations on coins, and also that a Greek die-engraver as often as not sacrificed realism to a desire for an effect suitable to the space which he had to fill. The earliest Selinuntine coins are uninscribed, bearing simply (Pl. II. 5) the leaf on the obverse, and, on the reverse, an incuse square, variously divided up by lines or bars. Later the leaf appears also on the reverse, sometimes accompanied by the first four letters of the town name, ΣΕΛΙ (Pl. II. 3).

<sup>1</sup> *On the Oracles of the Pythia*, c. 12.

## CHAPTER II

### FROM HIMERA TO THE ASSINARUS

B. C. 480-413

As the starting-point of the second chapter in the history of Sicilian coinage, we choose the epoch-making victory of the Greeks, led by Gelo of Syracuse and Thero of Himera, over the Carthaginian Hamilcar near the latter city. This victory was the Salamis of Sicily, and Gelo was regarded, and justly, as the saviour of Greek civilization in the West. From this time onwards the city which he ruled easily took precedence over all other Sicilian cities, and its political predominance is paralleled by the enormous preponderance of its coinage as compared with that of the rest of the island.

The most remarkable of all Syracusan coins, it may be said without much hesitation, are the large ten-drachm pieces known as Damareteia (Pl. II. 6). The name is connected with Damareta, the wife of the tyrant Gelo. One ancient authority (Diodorus)

says that the coins were struck out of a present made to the queen by the defeated Carthaginians, for whom she had obtained somewhat easier terms than they could have expected. Others (as Pollux) say that the coins were struck out of treasure provided by Damareta and the Syracusan women in aid of the cause of the Greek against the barbarian. We may reconcile the two statements if we suppose that after the war the sacrifice was recompensed by a portion of the treasure obtained by Damareta from the Carthaginians; the new Damareteia, in which such a compensation would be made, would thus be connected in the memory of men not only with the gift made to Damareta, but also with the sacrifice which she and the women of Syracuse had shown themselves ready to offer to their country. In any case it is fairly certain—although a distinguished historian, who is not a numismatist, takes a different view—that none of the Damareteia could have been struck before the battle of Himera.

The obverse type of the Damareteion is the victorious four-horse chariot. The long robe of the driver has generally caused his sex to be mistaken by those who are unacquainted with the peculiarities of Greek dress; but the discovery of the bronze charioteer at Delphi should go some way to dispel this error. As for the horses, these

coins without doubt represent a very great advance beyond what we have seen accomplished hitherto. But still, in his attempt to attain that quality which the Greeks called *charis*—our word ‘grace’ does not well express it—the artist has revolted a little too far from the sturdy forms of his predecessors. The proportions of both charioteer and horses, for instance, are too slim. In the exergue he has placed a ‘wild lion racing,’—emblem, as without undue fancifulness it is interpreted, of the subdued and fleeing forces of Africa. The reverse has a superb design. The head of a goddess (probably Victory), wearing a simple earring and necklace and crowned with a laurel-wreath, her hair caught up behind by a plain cord and hanging in a heavy loop on the neck, is surrounded, first with a faint circular line; next by the letters of the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ the (*koppa* has now finally disappeared from the inscription) arranged in groups of two and three letters; then by four dolphins, whose ample proportions contrast curiously with the reduced dolphins of the later Syracusan issues. Finally, the rising up of the metal round the edges of the die gives a kind of natural, unconventional border to the whole design. When we consider the detail of the head, we see that all the exaggerated characters of the more archaic art are softened. The eye, it is true, is not yet shown in

profile, and the ear is a little too high up; there is still a trace of what was once the 'archaic grin,' due to an unskilful attempt to show the modelling of the cheek and mouth. Here the attempt has resulted in a smile, a little prim, perhaps, but not unpleasing. The linear circle, which we have already seen on a predecessor of the Damareteion, has been well explained by Evans as the survival of the circular margin enclosing the small head on the early Syracusan tetradrachms, 'partly, no doubt, preserved because it served a useful purpose in defining the outlines of the head,' and, we may add, in giving a line to which the letters of the inscription should be ranged. It would be difficult to find any monument which conveys a better idea than this coin of the grace and refinement, the faithful and careful workmanship, the combination of formality with the promise of freedom, which are characteristic of the best archaic art of Greece.

Less striking than the ten-drachm piece is the ordinary denomination of four drachms, of exactly the same types (Pl. II. 7). When we remember that the various denominations were usually accompanied by varying types, it seems curious that some specially distinctive design was not invented for the Damareteion. But the novelty of the piece, the general interest its issue



must have excited, and especially its great size, made it quite unnecessary to differentiate it in this way. The same phenomenon presents itself in the case of the large English gold coins of modern times, which bear the same types as the sovereign.

We pass from Gelo and the Damareteion—historically the most interesting, and at the same time one of the most fascinating, of all Sicilian coins—to Hiero and the coins of his reign. Now, and more especially after the fall of the tyrants, we meet with an extraordinary succession of variations in the standard types of female head and four-horse chariot. The improvement in the art can be traced by a series of fine gradations, each stage occupying but a few years (Pl. II. 8 foll.). Life and vigour gradually find their way into the delineation of the horses; the charioteer's figure acquires character—although as often as not he is 'off the flan,' thanks to the careless striking of the coin; and, above all, the difficult task of representing the flying figure of Victory is eventually solved, so far as it is possible to solve it in art. On the reverse the head continues to increase in size, and the dolphins become smaller. One of the early tetradrachms of this period (Pl. II. 8) shows excellently most of the weaknesses of the archaic art; but it is worth

noting that in the treatment of the eye the artist has attempted, if he has not quite mastered, the representation of the profile view. In the exergue is a sea-monster, known as the pistrix. Its appearance as a symbol on these coins has been explained by Mr. Head as an allusion to the great sea-victory won by Hiero over the Etruscans in 474. We have, it is true, already seen (p. 49) that the pistrix occurs as a symbol on coins of Catana which cannot be later than 476. But at Catana the symbol is isolated, whereas at Syracuse it is found on a great number of issues spreading over a series of years. We are justified therefore in accepting Mr. Head's explanation on the ground that at Syracuse the symbol seems to have some historical significance, whereas at Catana no such significance can be proved.

Although introduced on the Syracusan coins by Hiero, the symbol did not disappear with his death; for there is good reason to suppose that some of the more advanced coins displaying it belong to the period of the democracy.

The head-dress of the nymph or goddess on this coin is comparatively simple—a mere diadem of pearls, with the ends of the hair caught up within it; and the hair itself is treated as if it were wire. The engraver has realized the inadequacy of the



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17.	„ „ „ . . . . .	59





old-fashioned dotted lines, but his attempt at the new method is unsuccessful.

Our next coin (Pl. II. 9) shows a more pleasing result. Here the artist has caught the soft effect of the mass of hair; but he still has considerable difficulty with the lips, and in attempting to give character to the lower part of the face has added an element of coarseness. He has also made another experiment in representing the eyelashes. His model may have had beautiful eyelashes, but there are limits to the representation of minute features in art, and most of the later engravers wisely pronounced this experiment a failure.

We must be content merely to illustrate (Pl. II. 10 foll. and III. 1-5), without describing in detail, some of the long series of coins which bring us down to about 440 B.C., when a new feature (the signed coins) will attract our attention.

Most people unacquainted with Greek art, as well as those to whom only its monumental side is familiar, are astonished at the modernity—as it is called—of these heads. As a matter of fact the coins do but show that the Greek artist knew how to give a life-like representation of his model when he had the chance. 'Extreme simplicity, unpretending vigour of work, which claims no admiration either for minuteness or dexterity, and suggests

no idea of effort at all; refusal of extraneous ornament, and perfectly arranged disposition of counted masses in a sequent order, . . . this is all you have to be pleased with; neither will you ever find, in the best Greek Art, more.' These words of Ruskin<sup>1</sup> are, in their general bearing, the most instructive of commentaries on Sicilian art of the middle of the fifth century. With all its faults, its lack of ideal beauty, the healthy work of this period is in some ways more satisfactory than even the magnificent achievements of the age of Cimon and Euaenetus, because we cannot trace in it the foreboding of decay.

The Syracusan coins of the last third of the fifth century, and of the early years of the fourth century, in other words of the finest period of Syracusan art, are distinguished by the fact that the artists employed to engrave the dies were allowed to introduce their signatures. To this fact alone we owe our knowledge of the names of the men who produced the most beautiful series of coins in the whole history of coinage.

Among the earliest to sign his name on a coin was the artist Eumenes. A glance shows the improvement, as regards the treatment of the head, on the work of earlier engravers. His signature is sometimes placed (in the form EVMHNOV) over

<sup>1</sup> *Aratra Pentelici*, § 119.



the forehead on the band which confines the hair (Pl. III. 6). On other coins he signs in the field (Pl. III. 7, 9) or in the exergue. In the treatment of the horses he has attempted a further advance. He represents them in high action instead of walking or standing still ; but the result is a somewhat primitive composition in which the parallelism of the four sets of legs is anything but pleasing. In fact the clumsiness of the animals contrasts strikingly with the skilful handling of the flying Victory and of the driver. The exergual space formerly filled by the pistrix is, on Eumenes' coins, sometimes left vacant, sometimes occupied by opposed dolphins, a dolphin and fish, a scallop shell, or his signature.

We find the dies engraved by Eumenes combined with those of other artists ; but before dealing with the most important of these new engravers, his younger contemporary Euaenetus, we may consider the work of another less famous engraver. Sosion (ΞΩΣΙΩΝ) is represented by some rare tetradrachms (Pl. III. 8). The signature<sup>1</sup> is placed on the frontlet of the head, as in the case of the early head by Eumenes, and the affinity between the styles

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Regling, who has kindly examined the coin at Berlin, assures me that the name is Sosion, not Soson, as the Aberdeen specimen appears to read.

of the two artists is striking. The chariot group on the obverse of these specimens is probably by Eumenes himself.

The work of Euaenetus marks a great step forward in the treatment of the horses. As indicated above, we find him working first on dies which are combined with those of Eumenes. Thus we have (Pl. III. 9) a head signed EYMENOV combined with a most skilfully composed chariot group from the hand of the future artist of the 'medallions'<sup>1</sup>. The furthest horse has broken his rein, which is tangled round his foreleg. Over the whole floats Victory, holding in her hands an oblong tablet, on which is written the name of Euaenetus (EYAINETO). The pride of the artist in his work may seem to us to have conquered his good taste; but the *naïveté* of the method which he adopts to record his name is fully in accordance with the Greek habit of mind. In the exergue are two dolphins opposed, a symbol which is common at Syracuse in this period (it already occurs on the coin by Eumenes and Sosion), and is also met with at Catana, where we shall subsequently have to consider its significance.

<sup>1</sup> The specimens of this coin are mostly ill-preserved on the obverse. A better impression of the same obverse die is found on the coin (Pl. III. 10) with the reverse also by Euaenetus.

Another early specimen of the work of Euaenetus (Pl. III. 10) is a pretty head, wearing a frontlet on which is a dolphin leaping over waves. The artist's signature is placed in tiny letters on the belly of the dolphin before the lips of the nymph. The obverse is similar to that of the coin just before described.

On a slightly later obverse signed by Euaenetus (Pl. III. 12) the horses are in higher action; and in the exergue the artist has placed a chariot-wheel, which we may suppose to have come off some defeated chariot. The artist's signature is written in microscopic characters along the exergual line. Here again we have the broken rein. The *motif* of the broken rein is thus a favourite fancy of Euaenetus in his early period. It would be hypercritical to suggest that, since such an accident would inevitably bring about disaster, the figure of Victory is hardly appropriate.

Another artist whose dies are combined with those of Eumenes signs himself EVOΘ. He is inferior as an engraver to Euaenetus, and perhaps somewhat his elder. But on the other hand he shows a decided taste for innovation; he has made the driver of his chariot (Pl. III. 11) a winged figure, apparently male, crowned by Victory, and in the exergue he has placed a beautiful

figure of the sea-monster Scylla, with her fish's tail and the girdle of dogs around her waist. She holds her trident over her left shoulder, and extends her right hand towards a fish which swims away from her clutches; above her tail is a dolphin. The symbol has been not improbably explained as an allusion to the naval success of the Syracusans and their allies over the Athenians in B.C. 425. In that year the latter lost ships in the engagements in the straits of Messina, which the sea-monster was supposed to haunt. It is easy to see the inferiority, in the composition of the group of horses on this coin, to the work of the great master Euaenetus.

Phrygillus (who signs his name ΦΡΥΓΙΛΛ or ΦΡΥ) is represented by two sets of coins. On the one (Pl. III. 14), his reverse die (a head of Persephone crowned with corn) is combined with an obverse by the artist Euth . . ., which has been already described. On the others (Pl. III. 13), which appear to be rather later in style, and may indeed date from the next period, we have the usual female head, with the hair in a 'sling'; and the locks which might hang down on the temples are brushed back so as to break the line of the band which comes round the front of the head. The chariot group (Persephone, holding a torch,

drives the car) on the reverse of this second group of coins by Phrygillus is an admirably balanced composition, apparently by the artist Euarchidas.

All the signed coins which we have described above, with the probable exception of the later coins of Phrygillus, may be dated approximately between the years 430 and 415.

We may now leave Syracuse and turn to the other cities and their coinage. Throughout this period the types of Acragas (eagle and crab) continue the same, with very slight modifications; and the coins must have been plentifully struck, for the prosperity of the place was enormous, both during the period succeeding the victory of Himera, while Thero was still tyrant, and after the establishment of a democracy in 472. Symbols, such as the rose (Pl. III. 15), barley-corn, dolphin, now occur in the field of the reverse. The tetradrachms and didrachms of this period are supplemented by a number of smaller coins. The drachm (Pl. III. 16), as being also a piece of five litrae, is inscribed ΠΕΝ, i. e. *pentalitron*. Some of the smaller denominations have types differing from the larger—an eagle's head, a tripod, or merely five or two pellets to denote the value of the coin.

Of greater interest than the coins of Acragas are those of Himera, the city of which the Acragantine

Thero was in possession at the time of the defeat of the Carthaginians. During his possession of the city, which ended in 472, and presumably during the very short time that the incompetent Thrasydaeus filled his dead father's place, coins were issued which neatly illustrate the relation of dependency in which Himera stood to Acragas; for on the didrachms (Pl. IV. 1), while the cock and the name of Himera (HIMERA) stand on the obverse, the crab of Acragas serves as the reverse type. On the drachms with similar types the city-name is transferred to the reverse.

Another drachm (Pl. III. 17), which belongs to the same period, has as its reverse-type, in place of the Acragantine crab, a knucklebone (astragalos), with the inscription HIMERAION. The knucklebone and two pellets are the types of a tiny hexas or two-ounce piece of the same time. The use of the knucklebone in antiquity for the purpose of divination or the consulting of oracles, as well as for gaming, is well known; and it is possible that some such custom was connected with one of the Himeraean shrines. Gabrici has suggested that the use of astragaloι may have been widely prevalent in Himera, since we know that one of the throws was named after the poet Stesichorus, a native (by most accounts) of the city. It would,



PLATE III

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15. Acragas     "     . . . . .	65
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17. Himera     "     . . . . .	66







however, be fanciful to see in this fact an explanation of the coin-type.

After the expulsion of the tyrants, an entirely new set of types appears at Himera. First, on the obverse (Pl. IV. 2), comes the familiar type of the four-horse chariot. But on the reverse (Pl. IV. 3) is a composition full of interesting local colour. A female figure, probably the local nymph, clad in a chiton and peplos, the folds of which are rendered with characteristic formality, stands pouring a libation from a libation-bowl over an altar; her unoccupied hand is raised, as she pronounces the invocation which accompanies the sacrifice. Balancing the altar, on the other side of her, is a pretty group of a small Silenus standing in front of a fountain, from the lion's mouth of which a stream of water falls on his body. He is obviously enjoying himself in the warm baths near Himera which were so famous in antiquity, and to the neighbourhood of which the inhabitants removed after the destruction of their city in 408. Hardly less interesting than this coin is another tetradrachm (Pl. IV. 4), on which is represented Pelops (ΠΕΛΟΥ) standing in his chariot. The appearance of the hero at Himera is unexplained, but we shall find a later coin suggesting a connexion between the Sicilian city and the Olympian festival of which

he was the founder. On the reverse, the nymph Himera (ΙΜΕΡΑ) is occupied with her peplos, which she is putting on over her chiton. The type is probably a mere study in the draped female figure. On another coin—a didrachm (Pl. IV. 5)—we have a horseman riding sideways on a galloping horse. This represents a feat of horsemanship in which the *anabates*, as he was called, leapt from his steed in full course, and ran beside it. The inscription is ΙΜΕΡΑΙΟΝ. On the reverse of the same coin is the nymph Himera sacrificing; she is here called ΣΟΤΗΡ (instead of by the more usual feminine form of the epithet).

The smaller coins have puzzling types. The half-drachm (Pl. IV. 6) shows a nude youth riding on a goat, holding a herald's wand or caduceus, and blowing a conch, while on the reverse is a figure of Victory (sometimes inscribed ΝΙΚΑ) flying, and carrying an *aphlaston*, the ornament which decorated the stern of the ancient ship. There must be a reference to some victory in this type: not improbably it alludes to the burning of the Carthaginian ships at the battle of Himera. Very possibly, too, the pair of greaves (Fig. 3) and helmet of the obols represent spoils from the same victory. The litra, again (Fig. 4), represents on one side a youth riding on a he-goat; on the other, a strange beast,

compounded of a bearded human head with goat's horns, lion's feet, and bird's tail. It might be



FIG. 3. HIMERA: OBOL.

FIG. 4. HIMERA: LITRA.

discreet to waive all attempt to explain this fantasy; but we shall return to the subject in a later chapter.

Of even greater historical value than the coinage of Himera is that of Messana. That city was not freed from the power of Anaxilas and his house until the time of the general liberation in 461. It is probably to one of the episodes in the struggles with Rhegium in the second quarter of the century that we have to assign a coin of the usual types and legend, but with the syllable  $\Lambda\text{O}$  added on the reverse, in large letters, above the hare. Mr. Evans has shown that in all probability this syllable indicates the Italian city of Locri, in which, as the enemy of Rhegium, the Messanians would find a cordial ally.

In the course of the democratic period a slight but significant variation is made in the type of the obverse. The male charioteer, who might be regarded as driving the chariot of the tyrant, is replaced by the personification of the city itself.

She is, on some of the later coins (Pl. IV. 7), actually named ΜΕΣΣΑΝΑ. Mr. Evans has shown, however, that the most important coin of this period, historically speaking, is a remarkable tetradrachm (Pl. IV. 8) which, if style and analogy with types of other cities furnish any criteria, cannot be dated much earlier than the middle of the fifth century. There stands, on the obverse, a vigorous figure of a god, with his chlamys or short cloak arranged over his shoulders and arms in the manner usual with the sea-god Poseidon, and brandishing in his right hand the thunderbolt—a weapon not confined to Zeus, but sometimes wielded by the earth-shaking sea-god. Before him is an altar. On the reverse is a dolphin, with a scallop-shell beneath it, and above is the inscription ΔΑΝΚΛΑΙΟΝ. It is clear 'that, in this city of nicely balanced factions and perpetual revolutions, a turn of the wheel about that time gave the old Zanklaean element once more for a moment the upper hand'—hence the change in type and legend, and the reappearance of the dolphin as the main type together with the sea-god of which it is but the symbol.

There exists another piece which bears out the theory that about the middle of the fifth century Messana for a time changed its name to Zancle.

This is a coin (Pl. IV. 9) struck at the Italian city of Croton, bearing the type of that city (the Apolline tripod) on both sides, and the usual inscription  $\text{QPO}$  on the obverse. But beside the reverse type is written  $\text{DA}$ , which, on the only probable interpretation, must stand for *Zancle*. The Zancalean revolutionaries, therefore, sought help against their opponents from Croton, as the Messanians had found it in Locri.

Mr. Evans has sought to detect political significance in the appearance at Syracuse and at Messina (Pl. IV. 7) of the exergual symbol of two opposed dolphins, and to show that it was introduced by way of allusion to the alliance which was cemented between the two cities in 425 in face of the Athenian danger. The number of coins with this symbol in the exergue is so considerable that, on this hypothesis, their issue must, as Mr. Evans recognizes, have continued for some time after the conclusion of peace between Messina and Athens in the next year—perhaps even after the advent of the Athenian expedition. But to judge from the comparatively stiff style of many of the coins of Messina with two dolphins, it seems more probable that in that city at least the symbol was adopted earlier than 425.

The Chalcidian city of Naxos lost its indepen-

dence early in the fifth century, and while under the dominion first of the Geloan Hippocrates, and then of the Syracusans Gelo and Hiero, seems to have struck no coins of its own. The pieces with which we have now to deal, although showing distinctly archaic features, can hardly be earlier than 476, when the inhabitants of Naxos were transferred to Leontini. We must therefore regard them as having been issued very soon after the expulsion of the tyrants in B.C. 461. The types continue to be connected with the worship of Dionysus, and the head on the tetradrachms of this period is amongst the most remarkable, although not the most pleasant representations of that god (Pl. IV. 10). He is crowned with ivy, and his features still retain an archaic cast, which is intensified by the formal neatness of the whole rendering. But in the care with which the different qualities of the hair of the head, the moustache, and the beard are rendered, and in the way in which the border of dots is broken to allow parts of the design to escape beyond it, we see the marks of an original and thoughtful artist. The later representations of Dionysus tone down, as a rule, the sensual character of the god so well expressed in this head, or modify it in the direction of effeminacy.



The reverse is very striking. A Silenus, one of the minor creations with which Greek fancy filled the train of the wine-god, is squatting on the ground. We have already seen his fellow bathing in the fountain at Himera. His snub-nosed, bestial features, with his pointed ear, rough hair, and equine tail, mark his position halfway between beast and man. Supporting himself on his left hand, he raises to his lips a two-handled cantharus full of wine. But most interesting is the treatment of the anatomy. The whole body is a study in muscle, not entirely suitable when the subject is a half-drunken Silenus in repose. All the muscles of the breast and abdomen are rendered in an almost exaggerated state of strain, a strain which, in this position, is only justified in the legs. The artist, in fact, has endeavoured to display all his knowledge of the anatomy of the human frame.

It is instructive to compare with this coin the tetradrachm with similar types struck towards the end of our period (Pl. IV. 11). All the formalism has disappeared from the treatment of the head of Dionysus. The hair is handled freely, its curling locks suggesting indeed the free use of unguents; the features reproduce admirably the effects of sensuality before it destroys the beauty of the face.

On the reverse we can see just the same advance in the body of the Silenus, with its softly rounded forms. Note too the introduction of ornamental details in the ivy and thyrsus.

The legend on the earlier issues of this period is NAXION, while on the later the third letter has the form  $\Xi$ .

The coins of Catana during this period are of great historical importance. A small coin struck just before 476 B.C., or, possibly, just after the restoration of 461, shows a bald head of Silenus, and, on the reverse, a thunderbolt of rather unusual shape, with two curled wings (Pl. IV. 12). The coin is inscribed  $\kappa$ ATANE. Now we know from various historical references that in 476 Hiero expelled the inhabitants of Catana, and placed in the city a colony of Syracusans on whom he could depend for support in case of trouble arising in his own city. He changed the name of Catana to Aetna, and this name it retained until the restoration of the exiles in 461. To fill this gap come some remarkable coins. First there are small pieces with similar types to those just



FIG. 5. CATANA-AETNA.

described, but reading AITNAI (Fig. 5). But much more extraordinary is a unique tetradrachm (Pl. IV. 13), now in the

collection bequeathed by Baron Hirsch to the Brussels

Museum. On the obverse, which has the inscription AITNAION, is a vigorous head of a bald Silenus, with the usual semi-bestial features, and a full beard; an ivy-wreath, treated in a manner more decorative than naturalistic, lies on his bald pate. Below is a scarabaeus-beetle, of the kind which an ancient commentator on Aristophanes says was found of great size on Mount Aetna. On the reverse is the figure of Zeus, under whose tutelage the city was placed. He is seated, holding in his left hand a thunderbolt of shape similar to that found on the small coins just described; his right hand rests, not on an ordinary sceptre, but on a natural branch, probably—as the district was so rich in wine—taken from a vine. A lion's or a panther's skin—the panther is an attendant of the wine-god—covers his seat. Before him is his sacred eagle, perched on the summit of a pine—again a touch of local colour, seeing that in antiquity pine-forests covered the slopes of Aetna. There are few coins which so completely fit in with all that history tells us of the circumstances of the period when they were struck, as does this curious coin of Hiero's short-lived colony.

The expelled Hieronians retired to Inessa, another spot on the slopes of Aetna, to which they again gave the name of the volcano. We shall meet with

their coins at a later period. The restored Catanaeans now produced, among other less important pieces, a fine series of tetradrachms, reading ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΝ or ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΣ, with the head of Apollo and a four-horse chariot (Pl. IV. 14, V. 1, 2). The heads on these coins, like the similar heads which we shall find at Leontini, form the counterpart to the female heads at Syracuse, although, the number of dies being fewer, we do not meet with anything like the same variety.

At Syracuse we have seen the female head as treated by Euaenetus in his earliest manner; at Catana, where he seems to have worked for some time before the Athenian disaster, we find him producing some beautiful heads of the other sex. A splendid tetradrachm (Pl. V. 3) represents a victorious chariot passing the turning-post, which stands on the right. The charioteer reins his plunging horses round; above flies the Victory with a wreath in one hand, the tablet with the engraver's name in the other. The tablet is less offensive to the modern eye in this group than on the Syracusan specimens; it is held less conspicuously, and the high action of the horses draws away our attention. The head on the reverse is a youthful, almost girlish Apollo, with a laurel-crown; the main type is flanked by two symbols, a fillet to which is attached a bell,



## PLATE IV

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14. Catana: tetradrachm . . . . .	76
15. „ drachm (Euaenetus). <i>Ward Collection</i> . . . . .	77







and a crayfish. The bell, which we know to have been used in the cult of Dionysus, may perhaps have a religious significance here; but it is more probably the private signet of a magistrate.

Another fine head (Pl. IV. 15) also produced by Euaenetus at Catana represents the river-god Amenanus, in almost purely human form. Unlike the monster of Gela, the Amenanus is represented as a youth with his hair confined by a fillet; but just above his forehead sprouts a little horn. Around are two river-fishes and a crayfish.

Leontini, like most cities in the neighbourhood, was during the time of Hiero forced under the power of Syracuse. One of its earliest coins, issued during the period of subjection, must be considered in connexion with the Damareteia. On those decadrachms, and on the corresponding tetradrachms, we have seen in the exergue the running lion, which is generally supposed to have reference to the defeated forces of Africa. On the tetradrachm of Leontini issued about the same time (Pl. V. 4), we have a lion repeated as symbol in the same subordinate position on both sides of the coin. On the obverse is a victorious quadriga; in the exergue, a lion running, very much as on the Damareteia. The main type of the reverse is an archaic head

of Apollo, wreathed with laurel, with stiff, formal ringlets hanging over his temples, and a long lock down his neck—an admirable example of the style of about 480 B.C. Around are three leaves of his sacred tree, and below a springing lion, in a somewhat different attitude from the symbol on the obverse. Now, remembering the significance of the city's name, and the fact that its usual type and badge on the succeeding coinage is a lion's head, we must be careful how we interpret these symbols. The parallelism between the obverse and the Damareteion type is so striking that we can hardly deny them the same significance. On the other hand, the lion of the reverse may justly be interpreted as the badge of the city.

Another tetradrachm (Pl. V. 5), which shows quite as strongly the influence of Syracuse, bears a female head, the hair confined by a wreath, and surrounded by four barley-corns. The coin is almost certainly from the same hand that wrought the piece we have just described, and also the Damareteion. The approximation to the latter is carried out even to the omission of the lion under the head on the reverse, so that but for the inscription  $\Lambda\text{EONTINON}$  (retrograde) we should take this coin to be Syracusan.

Two specimens of the later tetradrachms of

Leontini must suffice us here. The head of Apollo on the former (Pl. V. 6) belongs to about the middle of the century. On the reverse the lion's head badge is surrounded by the usual four corn-grains. On some varieties (mostly of later date), we find one of the grains replaced by another symbol, usually connected with Apollo: his sacred tripod, his lyre, a laurel-leaf, and the like.

The second coin (Pl. V. 7), at present in the collection of Mr. John Ward, is chosen because of the extraordinarily fine style of the head, which resembles the head of Apollo on the coins struck at Olynthus in Macedon, rather than those on any other Sicilian coin. It cannot be much earlier than 422 B. C. (when Leontini was once more reduced by Syracuse), and one is tempted to date it even later. The fourth symbol on the reverse is a river-fish.

All the smaller Leontine coins of this period bear on the one side a lion's head; on the diobol and obol it is represented facing. A horseman is the other type of the didrachm (Pl. V. 8) and of the earlier drachm; the later drachm has a head of Apollo (Pl. V. 9); barley-corns, or else a varying number of pellets indicating the value, serve for the still smaller denominations.

As we have already seen, the Syracusan colony of Camarina had issued a few small coins with the

types of Athena and a flying Victory during the brief period between 495 and 485 B.C. It was destroyed in the latter year by Gelo, but, being restored as a colony of the city of Gela in the year of the liberation (461), it began to issue coins on a larger scale. The earliest piece of the period is a didrachm, with a helmet on a shield for its

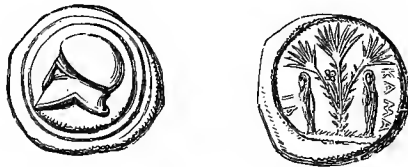


FIG. 6. CAMARINA: DIDRACHM.

obverse type, and, on the reverse, a dwarf-palm between two greaves. It can hardly be much later than 461. Like the somewhat similar types at Himera, these types may be meant to allude to the defeat of the Carthaginians. Towards the close of our period were issued tetradrachms with a head of Heracles, bearded, and wearing the lion's skin, with the muzzle over his forehead, and the forelegs tied round his neck. On the obverse is a victorious four-horse chariot, driven by the goddess Athena, the chief deity of Camarina. The inscription is ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ. The specimen illustrated here (Pl. V. 10) is curiously double-struck. Whether the chariot has special reference to any victory at Olympia or other of the Panhellenic

festivals, it is difficult to say. It is more probable that the type appears simply because it is the favourite type of all Sicilian cities. An attempt has, it is true, been made to connect it with the victory of Psaumis of Camarina at Olympia in 452, celebrated in Pindar's fourth *Olympian*, and in the ode—by whatever author—which follows it.

At Gela, the next great city of the southern coast, the types of the bull with human head, and the racing-chariot, continue in use. The tetradrachm (Pl. V. 12) with the representation of one of the goals behind the horses must have been issued at the very beginning of our period, if not earlier. Later specimens (Pl. V. 14) show a considerable advance in the humanizing of the bull's head, for the full development of which we shall have to wait for the last decade of the city's existence immediately preceding its destruction by the Carthaginians.

The most interesting of Geloan coins of this period is perhaps the tetradrachm (Pl. V. 11) which represents a female figure, called  $\Sigma\text{O}\Sigma\text{I}\Gamma\text{O}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$ , and evidently meant for the City-goddess, crowning the river-god. The contrast between the huge monster and the youthful figure, who hardly reaches to the top of the bull's head, tells its tale effectively; the city has tamed its river, has made it do its appointed

task of fertilizing the Geloan lands, and now rewards and honours it for its services.

Towards the end of our period comes a beautiful tetradrachm (Pl. V. 15) with a new type. Victory drives the victorious chariot, the horses pacing slowly; above them hangs a large wreath. On the reverse is a striking head of the river-god Gelas, but with all traces of the bull-nature removed, excepting the small horns on his forehead<sup>1</sup>. The head, which is treated in a severe style, has all the attractiveness of the whole-figure representation of a river-god which we shall meet with on coins of Segesta. Three fine river-fishes (treated, in the original, with a detail of fin and scale which is inadequately represented in the reproduction) make a framework for this admirable head. It seems curious to modern minds, but is thoroughly characteristic of the Greeks, that two representations so different of the same deity could figure side by side on the coinage without suggesting to those who used them any incongruity or confusion of thought.

The type of the Geloan didrachms (Fig. 7 is) a mounted lancer, usually wearing a conical helmet. This type, in an archaic form, was also employed

<sup>1</sup> In the specimen from the Hirsch Collection here illustrated a slight flaw extends from the tips of the horns towards the crown of the head.



PLATE V

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13. " " <i>Brussels (formerly in the Hirsch Collection)</i> . . . . .	83
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for the drachm, which does not seem to have been issued after the early years of this period. A very



FIG. 7. GELA : DIDRACHM.

rare tetradrachm (Pl. V. 13) also has the lancer type, and is further distinguished from other tetradrachms by the fact that the complete man-headed bull, instead of only the forepart, is shown on the reverse. The earlier litra (Pl. VI. 1), again, has a riderless horse, with a wreath above it; on the later issues (Pl. VI. 2) we find a horseman carrying shield and spear. The wheel, as at Syracuse, distinguishes the obol. It is clear that the principle of using distinguishing types for the different denominations was not rigidly observed at Gela.

The city of Selinus rose to great importance in the period of expansion which followed the defeat of the Carthaginians. Some of the coins with the simple type of the selinon leaf doubtless continued to be issued after that event; but as their prosperity increased, the Selinuntines struck larger and finer coins, which remind one, in the fullness of their local allusions, of the tetradrachm of Aetna. There can be little doubt but that these coins

allude to the deliverance of the city from a pestilence caused by the stagnation of the waters of the river. The people died, and the women suffered grievously in childbirth. Empedocles, the celebrated philosopher, was consulted, and by a feat of engineering, which seems to have consisted in connecting the channels of two rivers, and thus obtaining a stronger current, swept away the cause of the malaria. The tetradrachms with which we have to do show on the obverse (Pl. VI. 3) the deities Apollo and Artemis proceeding slowly in their chariot, Artemis driving, while her brother the sun-god discharges arrows from his bow. The arrows are the healing rays of the sun, which drive away the malarial mists; and Artemis is beside him as the goddess who eases the pains of women labouring with child. The legend is  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\nu\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ . On the reverse (Pl. VI. 4) is the river-god Selinus ( $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ) himself, a youthful figure, with small horns on his head, sacrificing with a libation-bowl over an altar. The altar is sacred to Asklepios, the god of healing, for a cock, his sacred bird, stands before it. In his left hand the river-god holds a branch, used for sprinkling lustral water in the ceremony of purification. Behind him stands the figure of a bull on a pedestal, and above that is a selinon leaf. It is difficult to explain the bull.

It may be that it 'symbolizes the sacrifice which was offered on the occasion' of the cleansing. Or is it, as the pedestal seems to suggest, some monument, erected at the time as an offering in expiation of the summary method which Empedocles had adopted with the cause of the pestilence? To the Greeks, there must have been behind that pestilence some supernatural power, who would be offended by the philosopher's interference with him. And what do we find on the other Selinuntine coins before us (Pl. VI. 6)? On the obverse, the struggle between health and strength on the one hand, and the power of the stagnant water and its effluvia on the other, is symbolized by the battle between Heracles and the *Bull*. On the reverse, another river-god, this time the Hypsas (HYΨΑΣ) is represented sacrificing, with libation-bowl and lustral branch, to a god around whose altar a serpent twines. This altar is probably once more an altar of Asklepios. Behind Hypsas the place of the bull is taken by a marsh-bird, which seems to stalk away in high disgust at the disappearance of its favourite haunts. The selinon-leaf fills the rest of the field. These two coins thus complement each other, and in their curious fullness of detail form a most illuminating commentary on the dry statement of the ancient biographer of Empedocles.

Unaffected artistic representations such as these do more to show us the habit of the Greek mind than many pages of poet or historian, for they reveal it to us at unawares.

Further allusions to the river and to the god of healing are to be found on the small silver litrae or obols (Pl. VI. 5), inscribed  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , or  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\nu\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ . On these we find a man-headed bull, and a female figure (the local nymph? or the goddess of health?) seated, with a snake erect before her; she grasps the snake with her right hand.

It is improbable, to judge merely from the style of the coins of Segesta, that any of them were issued before 480, although some must be dated very close to that year. The types (Pl. VI. 7, 9 and Figs. 8, 9) are made interesting by the allusion to



FIG. 8. SEGESTA: DIDRACHM.

local legend which they convey. On the obverse is a hound, on the reverse a female head, the long hair caught up in a loop behind. The peculiar terminations of the inscription— $\Sigma\alpha\Gamma\epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota\beta$ ,  $\Sigma\epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota\beta$ , or  $\Sigma\epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon\mu\iota$ —represent forms of

the Elymian dialect, on explaining which much ingenuity has been expended, with but little success. But we are more fortunate in being able to interpret the types. Since legend said that the founder of the city was the son of the river-god Crimisus, who at his union with the Trojan nymph Segesta took on himself the form of a hound, there can be little doubt that the figures on our coin represent the river Crimisus and the nymph Segesta. In the later issues, these types are diversified by the addition of symbols, the most important of which, the barley-plant (Fig. 9), is treated picturesquely,

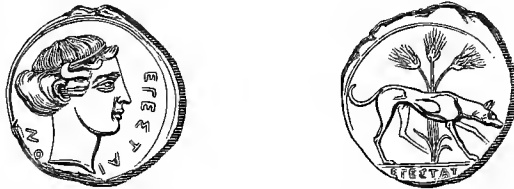


FIG. 9. SEGESTA: DIDRACHM.

and forms a background to the main type. The work of these Segestan coins is often extremely rude, and shows the hindrances which Greek art encountered when it came into contact with the barbarian element.

The coins with the barley-plant belong to the very end of our period, or are perhaps even a year or two later. The same is true of a curious modification of the hound-type, which represents the animal stand-

ing on the head of a stag (Pl. VI. 9). At this time the influence of the Syracusan artist Euaenetus made itself felt in this remote corner of the island. It has been plausibly suggested that the coins which show it were first issued at the time when the people were making a bold bid for Athenian aid against Selinus and Syracuse in 416 and 415 B.C. These coins, which are tetradrachms (Pl. VI. 8), have on the obverse an admirable composition, representing a youthful figure, his conical helmet hanging at his back, his chlamys on his left arm. He stands resting his left foot on a rock, and holding in his left hand two hunting-javelins. A couple of hounds in leash accompany him, one snuffing the ground, the other with head erect and ears pricked up. In front of him is a small terminal statue, or boundary mark. We are told that the people of Segesta worshipped their river-gods in human form, and since we have seen that on the earlier coins the river Crimissus is represented by a hound, we shall not be far out if we accept the usual explanation, which makes this young heroic figure the river Crimissus. But what is the meaning of the boundary-mark? The idea that he is watching the boundary of his city's territory, to see if the enemy come, seems forced; but no better



suggestion has yet been put forward. On the reverse, the head of the nymph Segesta shows some resemblance to the work of Euaenetus, but perhaps hardly enough to justify the theory that it is from the hand of that great artist. On these coins we find both forms of the city name: ΣΕΛΕΣΤΑΪΙΑ (the termination being a variety of the unexplained form on the earlier coins) and ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΟΝ or ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ. Of the two, the form with the initial sibilant probably represents the native, the other the Hellenized form of the name.

The hound is also at this time the type of the neighbouring city of Eryx. This fact might possibly be urged as evidence against the explanation of the Segestan hound as the river Crimisus; but when we remember that Eryx was only a few miles from Segesta, and that in the previous period it had no special types of its own, we shall be ready to admit that it may have imitated the type of its more powerful neighbour. Its own special type is now the head of Aphrodite, which occurs on the didrachm—a very rare coin—and also on the litra (Fig. 10). The head on the latter is remarkable for being represented facing—not, as was the custom



FIG. 10. ERYX: LITRA.

with many types at the end of this century, slightly inclined to one side, but full to the front. One litra of this class is eloquent of the close connexion between Eryx and Segesta, for it reads EPYKINO on one side and ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΟΝ on the other. Again, on the didrachm already mentioned, the hound is accompanied, just as at Segesta, by three ears of barley. Another type found on the litrae (Fig. 11)



is a female figure pouring a libation on an altar—and here we see the influence of Himera.

FIG. 11. ERYX: LITRA.

The inscription on these Erycine coins sometimes assumes the bizarre form IRVKAIIB—another relic of the Elymian dialect.

Some small places, mostly in the interior of the island, produced in the course of the fifth century a coinage which must be noticed, if only in a cursory way. In the hills westward of Catana lay the towns of Morgantina and Galaria. The former, early in our present period, issued litrae with a bearded male head and an ear of barley, inscribed



FIG. 12. GALARIA: OBOL?

MORCANTINA (Pl. VI. 10);

and of Galaria there are early litrae or obols which

show that the wines of its district were important. One (Fig. 12) has an archaic figure of Dionysus standing, holding a

cantharus and a vine-branch with a bunch of grapes ; on the obverse is a figure of Zeus the Saviour ( $\Sigma\text{OTER}$ ) enthroned, holding his eagle before him. The town name is abbreviated to  $\text{C}\Lambda\Lambda\text{A}$  on this coin ; but on another, with Dionysus and a bunch of grapes as its types, it appears as  $\text{C}\Lambda\Lambda\text{APINON}$ . Abacaenum, a small place near *Tripì* in the north-east corner of the island, has a fairly large coinage of litrae with a bearded laureate head (of Zeus?) and a boar. The legend is divided between obverse ( $\text{ABA}\kappa\text{AI}$ ) and reverse ( $\text{NINON}$ ). In the very centre of the island lay Henna (*Castrogiovanni*), a small place, but one of the most sacred in Sicily. Its litrae (Fig. 13) have on the reverse a female figure holding a torch over an altar—a modification of the sacrificial scene already familiar to us. The torch



FIG. 13. HENNA: LITRA.

seems to indicate the goddess Demeter. On the obverse is the same torch-bearing figure in a four-horse chariot. The inscription is  $\text{HENNAION}$ . Farther west, Entella (*Rocca d'Entella*) has litrae, again with a female figure pouring a libation, and on the reverse a river-god in the shape of a human-headed bull. We also find a half-litra with a head of Heracles in his lion's skin on the obverse, and, on the reverse, six pellets (the litra being worth

twelve ounces of bronze) and the name ENTEΛ. The litrae reading ΛΟΓΓΑΝΑΙΟΝ (heads of Heracles and of a young river-god) and ΠΑΝΑΤΑΝ (eagle standing on a capital, and dolphin with shell-



fish, Fig. 14) belong to small places, the first perhaps near Mylae (*Milazzo*), the second

FIG. 14. HIPANA: LITRA. near Palermo. Finally, we have charming little coins in the drachms and half-drachms of Stieia, the representative of the



once important city of Megara. The types are the head of the young

FIG. 15. STIEIA: HALF-DRACHM. river-god, and the fore-part of a man-headed bull (Pl. VI. 11 and Fig. 15)<sup>1</sup>.

Three Phoenician settlements claim our attention at this point. First in importance is Panormus (Palermo). The earliest coins of this place are to all intents and purposes Greek coins; not only are all the types Greek, but so also in most cases is the legend. The Phoenicians in fact were entirely devoid, at least at this period, of any but the most mediocre artistic power; and their artists, if indeed they were not actually Greeks, certainly worked under Greek influence. Further, as these coins were meant for trade with Greek-speaking people,

<sup>1</sup> A litra also shows the god sacrificing, with a sapling in his hand.

the Phoenicians wisely used types and inscriptions which would be generally intelligible. Thus we find the inscription ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΙΚΟΝ or ΠΑΝΟΡΜΟ. The types of the early tetradrachms (Fig. 16) are a head

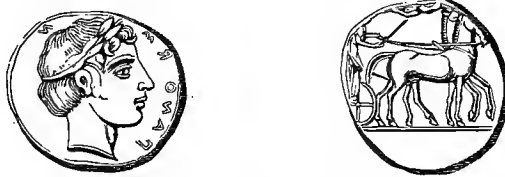


FIG. 16. PANORMUS: TETRADRACHM.

of Apollo, and a victorious four-horse chariot. On the smaller denominations we have among others the type of Poseidon seated on a rock (Fig. 17); while a hound (Fig. 18)—obviously copied from



FIG. 17. PANORMUS: OBOL. FIG. 18. PANORMUS: DIDRACHM.

Eryx or Segesta,—the forepart of a man-headed bull (Fig. 19), a head of a young river-god (Fig. 19), and a youth riding on a man-headed bull all seem to be ways of representing the local stream. An Oriental touch is given by the symbols of the murex-shell and the swastika on the didrachm (Fig. 18). The Phoenician element shows itself also



FIG. 19.  
PANORMUS: LITRA.

in the inscription which—whatever it may mean—is transliterated *ziz*. These letters figure largely on the later Siculo-Punic coinage, and seem to have some connexion with Panormus, whether they be the Phoenician name of that city or not.

A less important Phoenician settlement was the short-lived colony of Motya, the predecessor of Lilybaeum, and thus of the modern Marsala. The coins are largely imitated from those of neighbouring mints such as Segesta, Himera and Acragas. The name of the town is given in Phoenician letters as *hmtua*, while the Greek legend is

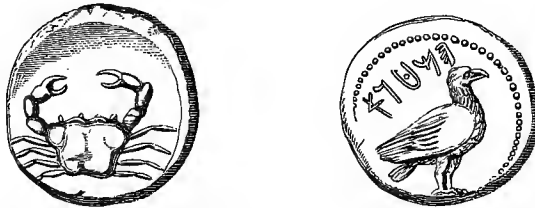


FIG. 20. MOTYA: TETRADRACHM.

MOTVAION. The tetradrachms (Fig. 20) have the Acragantine types; the smaller coins are chiefly

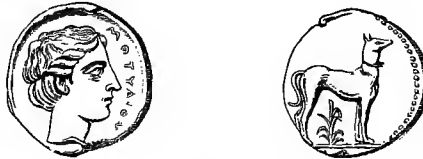


FIG. 21. MOTYA: DIDRACHM.

copied from Segesta (Fig. 21). But we also find didrachms (Pl. VI. 13) with the Himeraean *anabates*

on the obverse and a female head copied from Syracuse on the reverse. Probably the earliest of the Motyan coins is an obol (Fig. 22) which has an eagle standing on a capital with a snake in its beak, and, on the reverse, a dolphin and scallop-shell — the one type



FIG. 22. MOTYA: OBOL.

inspired by Acragas, the other by Zancle. We have already found the two combined at Hipana (Fig. 14). A later obol (Pl. VI. 12) has a female head in a wreath, and a female figure sacrificing before an altar, with the Phoenician letters *ma* and a shell in the field.

The third Phoenician city is Solus. Its earliest issue (Pl. VI. 14) is a didrachm, remarkable chiefly as a foil to the didrachm of Selinus (Pl. VI. 6) with exactly the same types (Heracles fighting the bull, and a river-god sacrificing, with selinon-leaf and bird in the field). One cannot help feeling that the Soluntines were prompted by the chance resemblance of their own inscription (ΣΟΛΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ) to that of Selinus (ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ) to use the same types, and thus gain acceptance for their coinage. But their artistic capacity evidently fell short of their commercial ingenuity.

We have now brought our study of Sicilian coinage down to the end of what is called the

period of transition from archaism to the finest art. To the historian of art, the stage of development which we have examined is perhaps more fascinating, because of its ever-changing life and vigour, than the full bloom which is to follow. As we have already indicated, there is little or no trace, at this time, of the lack of restraint which arises out of too great facility in technique, and which is the first sign of coming decay.



## CHAPTER III

### THE FINE PERIOD

B. C. 413-346

THE Athenian expedition to Sicily, melancholy as were its consequences for Athens, gave a fresh impetus to the activity of the city against which the Athenian designs were chiefly directed. The prestige acquired by the Syracusans was of far more value than the spoils of war which fell into their hands. The great event left its mark on the coinage in many ways. First and most obvious was the reissue of ten-drachm pieces, popularly called 'medallions,' which, as Mr. Evans has proved, was directly occasioned by the defeat of the Athenians. That defeat took place at the River Assinarus, and the festival which was founded to commemorate the event, and which was first celebrated in the autumn of 412, was known as the Assinaria. The great concourse of people at the games would require a fresh issue of coins; and, in view of the importance of the event, the memory of the Damareteia

struck after the defeat of the Carthaginians must have suggested that this new coinage should be something on a larger scale than usual.

We have seen that Euaenetus was working outside Syracuse towards the end of our last period. Whether this means that he was exiled from Syracuse, or merely that he was at first absent for some other reason, and then, owing to the Athenians having made their head quarters at Catana, was unable to return thence to Syracuse, until peace was concluded between the two cities in 409, we cannot say. But it appears that the earliest of the large Syracusan coins of this period are from the hand of a rival artist, Cimon. The design of our sketch does not admit of a detailed study of the complex question of the exact sequence of the varieties of Syracusan decadrachms. We must be content to notice the chief varieties only, and not to concern ourselves as to the exact order in which they were issued. The types of all Cimon's decadrachms (Frontispiece, 1-3) are, on the obverse, a female head, which from some of his tetradrachms may be identified as that of the nymph Arethusa; and, on the reverse, a victorious chariot, with a panoply below it in the exergue. The reverse type of all other decadrachms is the same, but on the obverse those which are not

## SYRACUSE: CIMON'S DECADRACHMS 99

from Cimon's hand (Frontispiece, 4-7) agree in presenting the head of the goddess Persephone, crowned with barley-leaves. A significant point, in connexion with the great importance attaching to these heads as works of art, is that the head is always on the obverse side of the coin, and the chariot on the reverse. This disposition of types now becomes the general rule for all coins, although there are many exceptions. The head of the nymph Arethusa on one group of Cimon's decadrachms (Frontispiece, 1) is marked by a greater restraint and severity of manner than is apparent on his other works, and is also treated in somewhat lower relief. Its relation to the head which we have already seen on a tetradrachm by Euaenetus (Pl. III. 10) is obvious. The nymph wears her hair in a net, and her earring has the form of three drops falling from a calyx. The hair is treated with a certain amount of exuberance at the sides of the head, but otherwise the work is fairly reserved. In comparison with Cimon's later types there is a lack of modelling in the face; the curve of the profile taken from the nose upwards and carried on over the frontlet is not pleasing; and the angle made with the throat by the excessively full chin—almost verging on doubleness—is another point which affords excuse for

fault-finding. If this is, as it seems to be, Cimon's earliest decadrachm type, some of the weak points—especially the flatness of the modelling—may be due to the largeness of the scale, which was strange to the artist. The signature will be found on the frontlet of the head-band in the form  $\overset{\kappa}{\text{IM}}$ .

On the reverse, interest centres at once in the curious subsidiary type of the exergue. The line dividing it from the main type is treated, so to speak, architectonically. It is not a mere divisional line, but almost a moulding running across the field; in fact, the exercise of a little imagination will enable us to think of it as representing the cornice of a pedestal on which the chariot-group stands. Closer examination of the exergue shows that there runs across it, dividing it horizontally, a sort of shelf or step. On this step are placed to the left a shield, to the right a crested helmet; between them, and leaning against the step, is a cuirass between a pair of greaves. And below them all, save where the carelessness of the striker has prevented its appearance, is the significant word  $\text{A}\odot\text{A}$ —'prizes.' This panoply then—the harness of a heavy-armed Greek soldier—is one of the prizes offered in the games of which the victorious chariot above it is the familiar symbol. When we remember the enormous quantity

of arms which must have been captured from the seven thousand Athenian prisoners taken at the Assinarus, we shall not find it hard to believe that the prizes in the Assinarian games, celebrating as they did a great military victory, should take the form of a full suit of armour. It may be that this type at the same time represents some actual monument of the great victory, having a trophy of arms carved on its pedestal. But there can be no doubt that its main significance is agonistic.

Cimon's later heads on his decadrachms (Frontispiece, 2, 3) are, technically regarded, a great improvement on his first. But the comparatively amiable model of his earlier type has given place to a haughty beauty with a distinctly sneering expression. The relief is much higher, and there is more modelling to be seen in the features. The curve of the forehead is broken by allowing some of the locks of hair to stray from under the frontlet. The earring is a single drop, instead of the earlier flower-like ornament. The whole design is more restless, chiefly owing to the profusion of small curling locks of hair; it is true that they are hardly more numerous than on the earlier coins, but they are so treated as to attract more attention. Some of these coins are signed more than once:

on the frontlet, on the belly of a dolphin, along the exergual line, or even in the field of the reverse.

The other chief variety of the Syracusan 'medallion,' associated with the name of Euaenetus (Frontispiece, 4-6), bears, as we have seen, on the obverse a head of the goddess Persephone, or, as she is called when named on Syracusan coins, Kora, the Maiden-Goddess. From henceforward, the head of Persephone becomes the most important of all Syracusan coin-types. These singularly beautiful decadrachms have been felt by most who have considered the subject to be the finest of all Greek coins; but of course there are differences of opinion. One writer finds the head lacking in expression, and the treatment of the hair intensely artificial. In this latter respect, however, there can be little doubt that Cimon's head of Arethusa is more suggestive of the friseur. Again, what one critic feels to be lack of expression, another will see to be due to the fact that Euaenetus has begun to break away from the old tradition, which did not attempt to disguise the individual model in a type. In fact, this head of his is the first attempt of a Syracusan artist to represent a truly ideal type—I speak only of the period of art in which it is possible to distinguish such characters.

Closely allied to the work of Euaenetus—who is represented by a large number of varieties of 'medallions,' both signed and unsigned—is that of an unknown master. Two specimens only of the 'medallion' by the 'New Artist' have come down to us, one formerly in the collection of the Earl of Ashburnham, now belonging to Mr. Thompson Yates (Frontispiece, 7), the other (Fig. 23) in the



FIG. 23. SYRACUSE: DECADRACHM BY THE 'NEW ARTIST.'

collection of Mr. Arthur Evans, who first made the variety known, and established the fact that it is not the work of Euaenetus. The differences, it is true, are minute, especially as regards the obverse; but the sum of the minute differences makes a considerable impression. Whether the head on the new medallion is a greater work of art than the head by Euaenetus, some may be inclined to doubt. That it is more striking, on first impression, and that the face has a rare beauty which is all its own, may be admitted; but a closer

examination brings out a serious weakness in the treatment of some of the details. The tendency towards excessive profusion of small curls which is evident in Cimon's work is here carried to such a degree that the curve of the head from forehead to back hair is entirely masked by small curling tresses, and the hair lying close on the top of the head, which gives great opportunities for a beautiful contrast between masses of hair and free locks, is completely hidden. Compare a head by Euaenetus, with its careful distinction between the soft hair radiating from the crown, the long tresses caught up from the temples or bound up at the back of the head, and the few small curls which break without obscuring the contour, and it will be difficult to deny that the 'New Artist' is lacking in one of the essentials of a great master, the power of self-restraint. On the reverse, the team of horses is keeping perfect step, their heads are level, all the lines are almost perfectly parallel. In this respect the artist stands apart from both Cimon and Euaenetus. Little fault can be found with his treatment of that difficult subject, the horses' legs; the other artists, in attempting to bring more variety into the arrangement of the team, came to grief, for it has rightly been complained that the position in which they have placed the hind-legs of the



second horse is not only ungraceful but impossible. Let us note but one more variation from the usual type: the inscription AΘΛΑ is transferred from the bottom to a position on the left, under the exergual line, where it escapes destruction.

Magnificent decadrachms, such as these which we have described, continued to be issued down to about 360 B.C.; those of Euaenetus are certainly later than those of Cimon, and the decadrachm of the 'New Artist' seems to be more or less intermediate between the two. We have agreed that this intermediate type is not from the hand of Euaenetus; and if we are wrong in maintaining that its creator is not in all respects a greater master than that artist, it is satisfactory to remember that the authorities of the Syracusan mint were of the same mind, since they did not continue to use it.

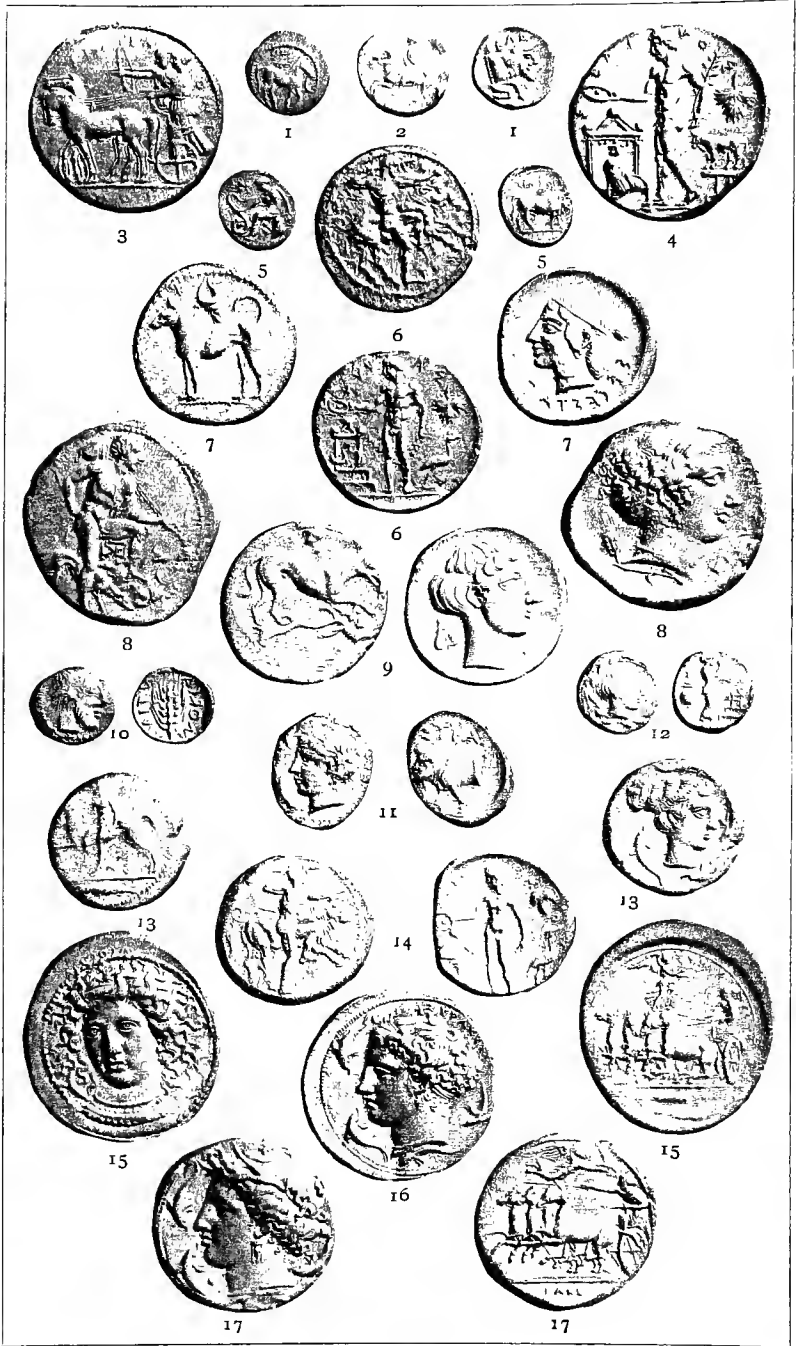
The issue of the decadrachms did not of course do away with the necessity for the ordinary coinage; and although there is some reason to suppose that soon after the beginning of the fourth century tetradrachm issues became somewhat scarce, we have a certain number of these pieces which must belong to the closing years of the fifth and to the beginning of the fourth centuries. First in importance comes Cimon's masterpiece—a work immeasurably superior to his decadrachms—the

tetradrachm with the facing head of Arethusa (Pl. VI. 15). The nymph, whose name ΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΑ is inscribed outside the border, is represented with her head slightly inclined towards the left; her long flowing hair fills the field, and dolphins dart in and out among the tresses. The signature of the artist ΚΙΜΩΝ is inscribed on the frontlet of the band which she wears on her head. On the reverse is the usual chariot; but Victory, instead of flying, steps on the head of the nearest horse. Below the fore-feet of the horses is a fallen goal-column, which has been upset in the contest. In the exergue is an ear of barley. As an example of complicated and delicate design in low relief, this reverse ranks higher than anything else produced even by a Syracusan artist. Enthusiasm has never been lacking in appreciation of the beauty of the obverse. One fact may without hesitation be admitted—it is the most charming of all the front-face types produced not only in Sicily, but also around the coasts of the Aegean, as at Amphipolis and Aenus, at Clazomenae and Rhodes. But one fault it has, nevertheless, in common with all such types. Since the first use of a coin is, after all, to circulate as a medium of exchange, no scheme should be adopted for the type which makes it unsuitable for that purpose. Coins inevitably become worn in



PLATE VI

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3. Selinus: tetradrachm (obv.) . . . . .	84
4. „ „ (rev.) . . . . .	84
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12. Motya: obol . . . . .	95
13. „ didrachm . . . . .	94
14. Solus: didrachm. <i>Berlin (formerly in the Imhoof-Blumer Col- lection)</i> . . . . .	95
15. Syracuse: tetradrachm (Cimon) . . . . .	106
16. „ „ ( „ obv.) . . . . .	107
17. „ „ (Euaenetus) . . . . .	108





rubbing against each other. By all means should they be made beautiful; but the design chosen should be one of which the essential characters are not immediately destroyed by wear. A profile type so much depends on the mere outline for its beauty, that it may retain its quality long after much of the relief is worn away; but the first points of a facing type to suffer are the nose, lips and forehead, so that the most beautifully modelled face is rapidly reduced to something like a caricature. A facing head on a coin is the most difficult of all types for an artist to produce, and we may be grateful to the Greeks of the 'fine period' for showing us what they could do in this way; nevertheless had they avoided the experiment, no one could have accused them of undue timidity.

Cimon's head of Arethusa seems to have enjoyed an extraordinary vogue, if we may judge by the fact that it was imitated on coins of Larissa in Thessaly, and even by the Persian Satraps who governed Cilicia. Another tetradrachm by Cimon (Pl. VI. 16) represents the head of Arethusa in profile, as on those decadrachms which, according to Mr. Evans, belong to his second style, and were issued about 410 B. C.

Among the other tetradrachms of this period is one—an exceedingly rare, if not unique, coin—

evidently from the school of Euaenetus, and possibly from his own hand, although unsigned (Pl. VI. 17). Its style is exactly similar to that of the decadrachms of this master, and it was doubtless issued at the same time as one group of those coins which, like the tetradrachm, is distinguished by a small pellet under the chin of the goddess (Frontispiece, 6).

A third very remarkable tetradrachm of this period (Pl. VII. 1) introduces us to a new type. A superb facing head of the goddess Athena, in a richly decorated helmet with triple crest, is the type of the reverse. The name of the artist Eukleidas is inscribed (ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΑ) on the helmet. The same die which was used to strike the obverse of this coin was also used for another tetradrachm (Fig. 24), with



FIG. 24. SYRACUSE: TETRADRACHM.

a beautiful head which Mr. Evans has interpreted as that of Victory; the position of the earring shows that the head should be regarded as leaning forwards, as it would be if the figure were repre-



sented flying, 'the earring in fact enables us to supply the wings<sup>1</sup>.'

The artist who signs himself ΠΑΡΜΕ produced coins (Pl. VII. 2) very much inferior to those which we have already described, and is probably to be dated fairly late in the present period.

In addition to the signed coins, there are a number which are unsigned. One of the best of these (Pl. VII. 3) has a fine, somewhat severe head, and varies the usual arrangement of the dolphins by making one of them dart out from behind the neck. This must belong to quite the beginning of the present period, if not to the end of the preceding.

The smaller silver coinage of this time need not detain us long. The reverse of the drachm (Pl. VII. 5) represents a hero, whose name we learn from some of the specimens to be Leukaspis (ΛΕΥΚΑΣΠΙΣ)—the warrior of the 'white shield.' Legend said that he was a Sicilian hero slain by Heracles. He is represented nude, a crested helmet on his head, fighting with spear and large shield; behind him is his altar, before him a ram (evidently

<sup>1</sup> A glance at Pl. II will show that many of the earlier female heads on Syracusan coins, when rightly placed, are inclined forwards, though at a smaller angle than the head before us.

the animal sacrificed to him) lying on its back, ready for immolation.

The date of the first introduction of gold into the Syracusan coinage is a matter of dispute. On one view, it dates back to some time between 440 and 420 B.C. The more usually accepted theory postpones the introduction of gold until the period of the Athenian siege, or later. We may describe here the earliest issues of Syracusan gold without definitely committing ourselves to either theory. The larger coins—and even these are very minute, weighing at the most about 19 grains troy—show on the obverse (Pl. VII. 6) a head of young Heracles wearing the lion's skin, as we have already seen him at Camarina. The reverse is curiously reminiscent of the archaic silver coinage; here again we have the female head within a small circular depression placed in the middle of an incuse square. This reversion is a piece of conscious archaism; it was evidently thought that, while the execution of the first piece of gold struck by the Syracusan mint should be on the level of existing art, there should be something in the coin to remind men of the earliest issues of the city.

A still smaller gold coin (about 11 grains troy) is a little later than the one we have just de-

scribed. Its types (Pl. VII. 9) are the helmeted head of Athena, and the aegis of the goddess fringed with snakes, and having in its centre the mask of the Gorgon. A yet smaller denomination (Fig. 25) has,



FIG. 25.  
SYRACUSE : GOLD.

with a similar obverse, a wheel in the centre of an incuse square—again an archaism. The chariot-wheel as a type was already known to the Syracusans from the silver obol in the earliest period of their coinage (Pl. I. 11).

The difficulty of ascertaining the date of these little coins is partly due to their small size, partly to the absence of connexion between their types and the types of the silver. When we come to the next group of gold coins, the question of date is easier. These are pieces (Pl. VII. 4, 7) with a female head, presumably of Arethusa, and an exquisite design of Heracles wrestling with the Nemean lion. Some of them are signed by the artists Cimon and Euaenetus; but the head on all of them approximates to the type affected by Cimon on his silver decadrachms, in other words, to the head of Arethusa. These little coins were worth twenty drachms or a hundred litrae of silver. A gold piece equivalent to the silver decadrachm was also issued at the

same time; the types (Pl. VII. 8) are the head of a young river-god, and an unbridled prancing horse. Such an emblem of liberty can hardly have first been placed on the coins after the beginning of the tyranny of Dionysius in 405, although if it had already been issued, the tyrant would have good reason not to discontinue it. We may therefore accept the date of about 408, suggested by Mr. Evans' recent investigations, for the issue of these pieces; if indeed we assume the first gold coins to have been issued after the Athenian disaster, it is impossible to put it earlier. Yet another smaller gold coin exists<sup>1</sup>, with a female head on the obverse, and the trident of Poseidon on the reverse. This piece, which seems to have been worth half the preceding denomination, has a square incuse impression on the reverse, a feature also found on some of the larger gold coins. We must not linger over the types of these issues; but it is worth mentioning that an engraved sard, found near Catania, bears a design almost absolutely identical with Euaenetus' representation of the group of Heracles and the lion. If any evidence were needed to prove that Euaenetus, and for that matter Cimon

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to observe that the genuineness of two specimens of this coin which have come into the market of late years has been disputed.

and many other Greek die-engravers, were also gem-cutters, this little sard, not to mention a gem signed by Phrygillus, supplies it.

Gold was not the only new metal introduced into the Syracusan coinage during the present period; we find also bronze coins, which are even more difficult to date than the gold. The earliest may indeed be earlier than the Athenian expedition. They have the types of a female head, and a squid, and are sometimes marked with three pellets, showing that they are pieces of three ounces, or quarters of the litra. But such bronze pieces must, as their weights show, have been merely a token coinage, circulating at a conventional value. The type is significant; we have already seen that the squid was used for the original silver litra, that denomination being a part of the native system with which the Greek system was harmonized. It is therefore entirely appropriate that the squid should be placed on the first coin struck in bronze, which was pre-eminently—at any rate before the Greek cities became entirely dominant over all the island—the native medium of exchange and the standard metal. Other bronze coins of the early period have a star in the centre of an incuse square, associating them with the earliest issue of gold; or a wheel with two dolphins between the spokes (Pl. VII. 10).

Later than these coins—and by some even brought down to the age of Timoleon—is the large bronze coin representing the litra (Fig. 26.) The obverse has a head of Athena in a helmet of the kind



FIG. 26. SYRACUSE: BRONZE LITRA.

generally called Corinthian. On the reverse, between two dolphins, is a star-fish (conventionally represented by an eight-pointed star of which the rays are connected by a sort of webbing). The fabric of these big bronze coins is very remarkable, and characteristic of the period. It is difficult to give an idea of it in words, but no one can fail to notice the strongly sloped edges, and the marks left at two diametrically opposite points of the circumference by the 'seam' which once ran round the whole of the almost globular mass of cast metal on which the dies were impressed<sup>1</sup>.

We must leave aside the remaining bronze coins of this period, only stopping to notice the prevalence of marine types on them. But we have not

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 4.

yet done with the silver coinage. To suppose that Dionysius entirely ceased to issue tetradrachms is, as we have seen, to take an extreme view of the case; that he struck but few must be admitted, because we know that he was often in pecuniary straits. We may regard as one of the latest of his tetradrachm-issues a coin (Pl. VII. 12) which represents the head of the goddess Persephone with long flowing hair, crowned with a wreath of barley-leaves, a full ear of the plant standing out over the forehead. The advanced style of this head—we shall see something like it on the coins of Agathocles—would suggest an even later date. It is true that the earring is of the coiled shape characteristic of the tetradrachms of the period preceding the decadrachms; but this can hardly in itself be regarded as a proof that the coin is early.

The financial troubles of Dionysius seem to be strikingly illustrated by a piece of bronze, struck from the dies of a decadrachm of the style of Euaenetus. On this piece, which has been published by Mr. Evans, there still remain traces of a white metal which is certainly not silver and is probably, though not certainly, tin. If this is an ancient forgery—and we can see no reason to doubt its antiquity—we are confronted with two alternatives. Either it was issued by the mint authorities,

or it was the work of an artist working on his own account. The comparatively good style seems to point to the former alternative; and we are actually told by Aristotle that Dionysius issued 'tin tetradrachms.' If he issued tin tetradrachms he may have issued decadrachms in the same metal; and, as his needs became more pressing, have contented himself and tried to content his subjects with tin coins of which all but the surface-plating was bronze! The evidence for this explanation, which is due to Mr. Evans, is, however, of a somewhat unsatisfactory nature, and we may wait for further specimens to be found before deciding whether we have to do with an undoubted monument of Dionysius' ingenuity.

The general dearth of money, so far as it was actually issued by the Greek cities of Sicily, must have been considerable in the latter half of the reign of Dionysius the Elder, and during the time that his son occupied the throne. Thanks to the Carthaginians and to the elder tyrant himself, nearly all the important Greek states had ceased to enjoy an independent existence. But the gap must have been filled by the coins known as Siculo-Punic, as well as by the two great currencies of Corinth and of Athens. The influence of the Corinthian currency left on the Syracusan coinage a mark



SYRACUSE: BASE COINAGE; DION 117

which we can still recognize. For there exist certain coins (Fig. 27) struck at Syracuse, probably



FIG. 27. SYRACUSE: 'PEGASUS.'

at the time of its deliverance by Dion in B.C. 357, which in types and weight exactly resemble the 'Pegasi' of Corinth; but the letter *koppa* which marks the Corinthian coins disappears from under the Pegasus of the reverse, and the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ (with the short *o*) appears round the head of Athena on the obverse.

To Dion also it is possible that we must ascribe the introduction of a new metal, or rather variety of metal, into the Syracusan currency. This was electrum, a mixture of gold and silver. In the days when coinage was first invented in Asia Minor, the mixture was used as it was found native in the sands of the river Pactolus and in other places, and the percentage of gold varied very considerably in different coins. In the money with which we have now to deal, the mixture was evidently made artificially, and the various coins are more homogeneous. There can be little doubt that the object

of issuing this unsatisfactory metal was to enable the authorities to rate it rather too highly, although not so highly as gold, in relation to silver. The ordinary person cannot discover the exact proportion of silver in a piece of electrum, and therefore, so long as the electrum is not rated as pure gold, he cannot complain that he is being cheated.

These first electrum coins of Syracuse—some of which most authorities, it is true, give to the time of Timoleon—are pretty pieces with types connected with Apollo and Artemis. On the largest coin (Fig. 28) we have simply the heads of the two

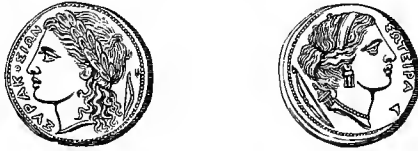


FIG. 28. SYRACUSE: ELECTRUM.

deities. On a smaller denomination, the half of the other, we have the head of Apollo on the obverse, his sacred tripod on the reverse (Pl. VII. 14). The head and lyre of Apollo furnish the types to the quarter (Pl. VII. 11), and a still smaller coin has a female head and sepia (Pl. VII. 13). The Apolline types of the three higher denominations are eminently suitable to Dion, who is also represented by other coins with the head and

tripod of Apollo, struck on the island of Zacynthus, where he prepared his expedition to Syracuse.

The space which we have devoted to Syracuse in this chapter is by no means out of proportion to the importance of her coinage in this, the finest period of her art. We shall find beautiful coins at other cities, but nothing like the same mass of coinage, or the same sustained artistic effort. Indeed, many cities with mints of splendid promise were swallowed up by the barbarian conqueror or the rapacious Syracusan tyrant; and after 404 there were, if we except Syracuse, practically no Greek cities of any importance issuing coins in the island.

The most important piece in all the Acragantine series, and one of the most superb products of the die-engraver's art, is the famous silver decadrachm (Pl. VII. 15), of which only three, or at the most four, specimens are known to exist. The eagle, the sober type of the early coins, is glorified into a pair of birds, standing on the body of a hare, their prey, which lies on its back on the rocks. One bird bends to tear the animal, the other lifts its head and shrieks. In the field is a grasshopper or locust. Numismatists have always quoted, in connexion with this type, the fine passage in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus describing the omen sent to the Greek kings:—

How they who share the Achaean throne, the twain consorted princes of Hellas' chivalry, wielding their spears of vengeance, were sped unto the Teucrian land by birds of mettle, the one black, the other argent behind. In station manifest they alighted hard by the palace, the kingly fowl before the kings of the fleet, devouring a hare's body big with her brood, on the spear hand, where they foreslowed her running<sup>1</sup>.

Like the eagle with a serpent (which we find on the reverse), an eagle tearing a hare was regarded as an omen of victory. Whether the type of our coin has reference to some particular event, as we shall find is the case with a similar eagle and serpent type of the time of Timoleon, it is difficult to say. In any case such sights must have been fairly common in a country where eagles were numerous.

The reverse of the same decadrachm represents a male figure nearly nude (probably the personification of the river Acragas), driving a chariot; above is the inscription ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ, and an eagle flying away with a serpent in its claws; below is the crab, the city emblem.

Although this coin bears no representation of the human head, few will be found to deny that its types, as compositions suited for a coin, must rank with the finest work of the Syracusan engravers<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Agam.* vv. 109 foll.; Warr's translation.

<sup>2</sup> There exists a series of shallow drinking-cups, generally coming from Italy, of which the chief ornament is a central

The decadrachm is only the finest of a fine series of coins. There are two main varieties of the tetradrachm. On one, the types are generally similar to those of the decadrachm; but we find some of them marked with the names ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ (Pl. VII. 18) or ΣΙΑΝΟΣ—probably the masters of the mint,—and there are a variety of symbols, such as the familiar crab, or a small figure of Scylla. The artist who used the latter symbol signs his name ΜΥΡ on the line of the exergue below the horses' feet. The other group of tetradrachms may perhaps be dated somewhat earlier; for some of them (the earliest) have the comparatively simple type of a single eagle tearing a hare, and on the reverse a crab with a sea-fish<sup>1</sup> (Pl. VII. 16). The link

medallion, evidently made from an impression of a Greek coin. The coins thus represented are decadrachms of Euaenetus and the like. These vases in clay presuppose the existence of similar vases in metal, in which the medallion would probably be an actual coin let into the bottom of the bowl. M. Théodore Reinach has shown that it is in all probability such a bowl as this, with one of the Acragantine decadrachms for its central ornament, that must account for a statement by Pliny, who mentions a chaser in silver of the name of Acragas: 'a hunting-scene by Acragas, chased on drinking-cups, won great celebrity.' Acragas is unique as a man's name; the artist is otherwise unknown; and nothing is more probable than that Pliny or his authority took the name of the river-god for an artist's signature.

<sup>1</sup> Of the perch family; a *Serranus* according to Mr. Lydekker, *Polyprion cernium* ('stone-bass') according to E. v. Martens.

between these and the later group is given by the magnificent tetradrachm with the group of the two eagles on its obverse, and the crab and Scylla type on its reverse. The specimen formerly in the Ashburnham collection (Pl. VII. 17) is one of the most charming of Greek coins, although the design of the reverse is not a composition of the first rank. The artist has made a captivating figure out of Scylla, but has not had the courage to reduce the emblem of the city to a suitable size; the result is that neither half of the type attains its full significance, and the two do not harmonize into one whole.

We must omit the smaller silver coins, noting only that on the drachm the artist has given the semblance of a human face to the carapace of the crab. Nor need we linger over the bronze coins, which all have as types the eagle and the crab represented with various modifications. The prettiest of the smaller coins of this period is a gold piece (Pl. VII. 19) with the eagle and crab and the name of the magistrate Silanos (ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ).

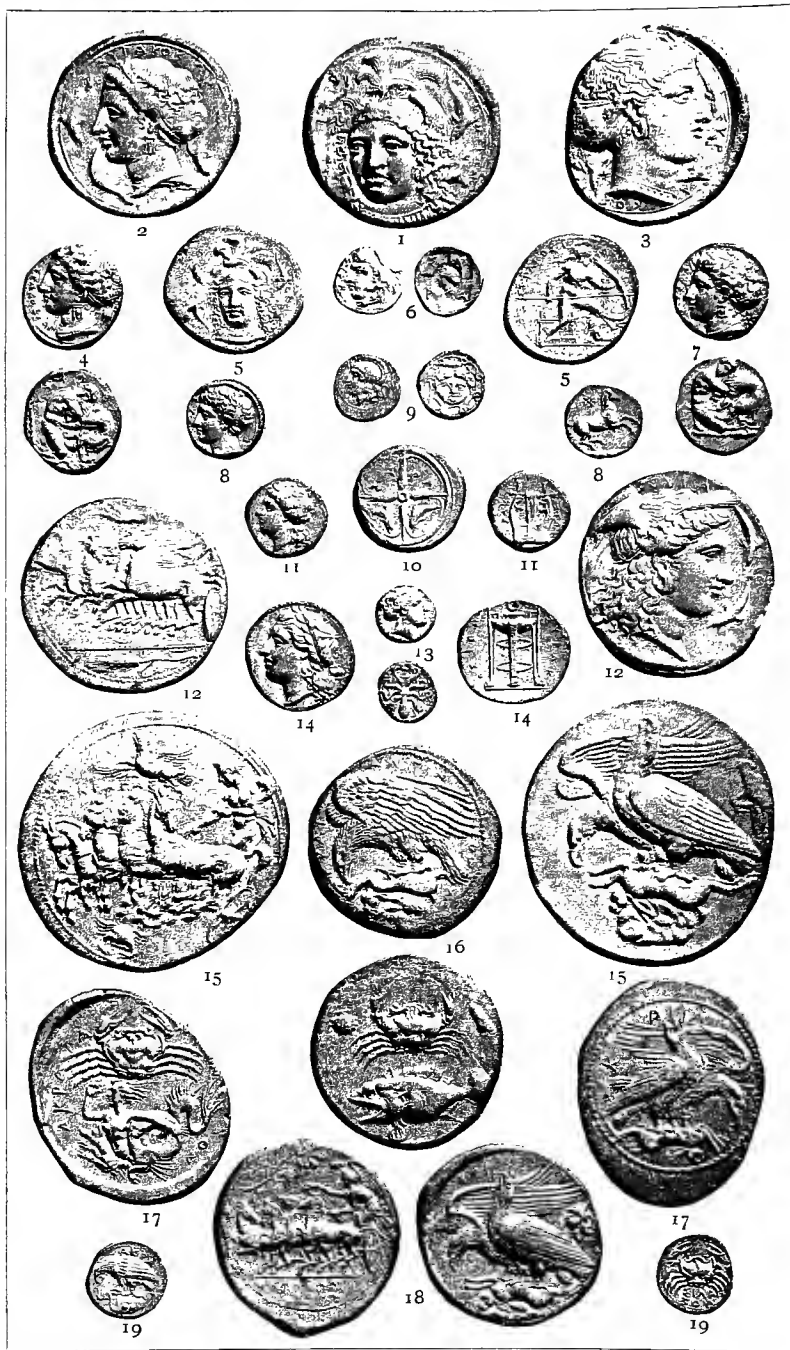
As was to be expected, the coinage of Acragas seems to have come to a sudden end when the city was destroyed by the Carthaginians in 406. The inhabitants when they returned to their desolated homes were content to use their old coins.



## PLATE VII

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7.	„ „ (100 litrae) . . . . .	111
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We shall find them issuing new money in the next period.

Like its neighbour Acragas, Gela enjoyed but a brief existence during this period, for it too was destroyed by the barbarian in 405. Immediately after the Athenian disaster there followed a few years of great prosperity, resulting in an increased output of coins. To this time belong a variety of types, which we shall not attempt to arrange in exact chronological order.

In the first place we find the old types treated in a fresh and highly-developed style. A fine tetradrachm (Pl. VIII. 1) shows the horses in high action; above the chariot an eagle flies away holding a serpent in its talons, as on the Acragantine decadrachm. A stalk of barley in the exergue of the obverse bears witness to the fertility of the territory of Gela, as does the grain in the field of the reverse. The features of the bull-god have become more humane, and the horn is made small and hardly perceptible. No doubt some of the savagery of aspect which is perceptible in the earlier representation of this river-god is due to the archaic artist's lack of skill in combining the human and the animal forms; nevertheless we feel that he conceived of the river-god as a dreadful monster, whereas his successor (as we have already

seen from the tetradrachm with the young male head struck towards the end of the last period) thinks of him as a benign and fertilizing power.

The type of the horseman, which we found on the earlier didrachms, is now developed into a more elaborate scheme (Pl. VIII. 2); armed with a lance, he strikes downward at a fallen hoplite over whom he rides. Holm ingeniously finds in this type an allusion to the part which the Geloan troopers took in the contest with Athens; for we know that the Geloans helped the Syracusans with cavalry, whereas the force of the Athenians was strongest in hoplites.

Of gold there are three denominations, the weights of which are to each other as 6 : 4 : 3. The two heavier both have the forepart of the river-bull as one of their types. On the heaviest piece (27 grains) the other type is a helmeted horseman (Fig. 29); on the next denomination (Pl. VIII. 4) it



FIG. 29. GELA: GOLD.

is the head of the goddess Sospolis, already known to us from earlier tetradrachms. The smallest piece, which is extremely rare, has a similar head; its other type is the forepart of a bridled horse. We note, in fact, that Gela lays rather more stress on the horseman-type than do other cities.

A type which is new to the Geloan coinage appears on the silver litra and on some of the small bronze pieces struck at this time; it is the head of Heracles, bearded on the bronze, youthful and wearing the lion's skin on the silver (Pl. VIII. 6). The river-god Gelas is also sometimes represented (Pl. VIII. 6) as a bearded head wearing a wreath of barley-leaves. But the prettiest of the bronze coins is the piece with the head of Demeter, facing and crowned with barley-leaves. The two types just described are combined in the piece illustrated in Fig. 30.



FIG. 30. GELA: BRONZE.

We have already mentioned that the early chariot-types of Camarina have been supposed to commemorate the victory of Psauimis. Whether this be so or not, the Pindaric odes which celebrate Psauimis are interesting to the student of the coins issued by Camarina in the years immediately preceding the removal of its inhabitants to Syracuse in 405. Of the two the more important is the fifth Olympian, with its intimate allusions to the local cult of Athena, the nymph Camarina, her sacred lake, and the rivers Hipparis and Oanis. The tetradrachms (some of them signed by the engraver Exakestidas) have now a beardless head of Heracles, and the style of the horses is more

spirited and varied than on the earlier coins (Pl. VIII. 3). In the exergue of some specimens we see two amphorae, jars for wine, or perhaps, as Athena drives the chariot, for oil. They are very probably prize vases. The signature of ΕΞΑΚΕΣΤΙΔΑΣ is written on the exergual line. The most interesting pieces, however, are the didrachms with a horned head of the river-god Hipparis, and a representation of the nymph Camarina borne on a swan over her lake, while the wind inflates her veil and the fish leap around. On some specimens (probably the later) the river-god's head is represented facing (Pl. VIII. 8); on others it is in profile, and on these his name (ΙΠΠΑΡΙΣ) is sometimes given. The waves of his stream are treated conventionally so as to form a border, and a fish is seen on each side of the head. Some of these didrachms are signed by Euaenetus, others by Exakestidas.

The drachms (Pl. VIII. 5), half-drachms (Pl. VIII. 9), and litrae represent the head of the nymph Camarina (ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑ), sometimes facing, sometimes in profile,



FIG. 31. CAMARINA: OBOL.

FIG. 32. CAMARINA: LITRA.

in a manner evidently inspired by the art of Syracuse; a flying Victory (Figs. 31, 32, as on the earliest coins

of the city), a head of Athena (Fig. 32), and a swan (Fig. 33) are also types to be found on the smaller coins.

On the bronze, which was issued for some few years before the trans-



FIG. 33. CAMARINA: OBOL.

portation, we find types associated with the goddess Athena:—her head, the head of the Gorgon, an owl holding a lizard. And to Camarina also probably belongs a little gold coin (Pl. VIII. 7), with a head of Athena on the obverse, and two olive-leaves with berries and the letters ΚΑ on the reverse. The shortening of the inscription leaves us in doubt whether this coin may not belong to Catana; but the types certainly favour the attribution to Camarina.

At Himera—to transfer ourselves to the northern coast—the old type continued in use for the tetradrachms (Pl. VIII. 10), subject of course to the modifications caused by increased skill on the part of the engraver. Himera too has its artist's signature; for the engraver, who introduced, doubtless from Syracuse, a motive which we have already described under that city, signs his name ΜΑΙ . . on the tablet held by the flying Victory<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the British Museum specimen (Pl. VIII. 10) the signature is obliterated; Mr. Evans has read it on a specimen at Paris.

Of the smaller silver coins, one (Pl. VIII. 11) has a head of young Heracles in his lion's skin, and a figure of Athena standing to the front, in a fighting attitude, with raised spear and shield. Another is important for the head of Cronus (ΚΡΟΝΟΣ) which it bears. We have already noticed the occurrence of Pelops on an earlier coin, and the combination seems to confirm the suggested connexion with Olympia. But we cannot say whether the Cronium which we know to have existed at Himera was called into being by some special relations with the Cronium at Olympia, or whether it existed independently, so that it was a mere coincidence that suggested to the Himeraeans the type of the founder of the Olympian games.

The Himeraean bronze coins are very varied in type. The most interesting represents the youth whom we have already seen on the earlier litra riding on a he-goat, and blowing a conch-shell. The inscription which accompanies the flying Victory on the reverse is usually ΙΜΕΡΑ or ΙΜΕΡΑΙΩΝ, but also sometimes ΚΙΜΑΡΑ. This last form—which suggests that the aspirate in the name was very harsh—lends some slight colour to the notion that the fearful wild fowl that formed the type of the litra (above, p. 68) was a variety of the Chimaera. That monster is usually depicted as a lion with a



serpent for its tail, and a goat's head springing out of its back; but the Sicilian artist was quite equal to creating a local form. But what should the Chimaera be doing at Himera? Here again an answer has been suggested; the Greeks connected the Chimaera with subterranean volcanic agencies, and, if the type of Himera is the Chimaera, it may well be related to the hot springs of Thermae.

These hot baths became the site of a new city. For in 407, the year following the destruction by the Carthaginians of the old city of Himera, the remainder of the unfortunate inhabitants were allowed by the conquerors to settle at the springs. Coins were issued from the new mint for a few years, and then it seems to have been closed until the third century. The tetradrachm—the genuineness of which has been suspected—bears a victorious chariot (thus carrying on the type of Himera) and the head of a nymph surrounded by dolphins. The didrachm (Pl. VIII. 12) has a head of the goddess Hera, wearing a crown, with a dolphin in the field behind; on the reverse is a figure of the youthful Heracles, seated on his lion's skin on a rock, and holding his club; his bow and quiver are behind him. The heads of the same two deities also occur on some of the bronze coins. All the pieces alike are inscribed  $\Theta\text{EPMITAN}$ .

Messana, until its destruction by Himilco in 396, continued to use tetradrachms with the types of the mule-car and hare. We have already mentioned (p. 71) Mr. Evans' theory that the introduction of the symbol of the two dolphins in the exergue dates from 425, and hinted at the objection that the treatment of the chariot-group on many specimens retains a well-known archaic feature, the pair of mules being indicated by merely doubling the outlines of one. On the other hand other tetradrachms (Pl. VIII. 13, 14) show both the animals fully delineated, walking slowly or stepping high. A variety of pretty symbols, such as the hippocamp (Pl. VIII. 14), the head of the nymph Pelorias, the head of young Pan (Pl. VIII. 13), a barley-plant with three ears, are introduced in connexion with the hare-type. The most remarkable type, however, of this period, or (judging from the early style of the mules) perhaps of the end of the preceding period, is found on the reverse of a unique tetradrachm of the 'two-dolphins' class (Pl. VIII. 15). The young god Pan (ΠΑΝ) is resting on a rock, on which he has thrown his fawn's skin. But for the horns on his forehead, he is purely human in form. In his left hand he holds his crooked throwing-stick, while with his right he caresses a hare which stands on its hind-legs before him. The artist has not



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been able to bring himself to reduce the city symbol to its proper size, so that it is disproportionately large in relation to the figure of the god.

Other Messanian types (Pl. VIII. 16) represent the nymph Pelorias (ΠΕΛΩΡΙΑΣ), personification of the promontory which runs out to the north of the city, and the hero Pheraemon (ΦΕΡΑΙΜΩΝ, represented like Leukaspis at Syracuse), a legendary ruler of northern Sicily.

The mint of Messana, which closed with the disaster of 396, opened again about the time of Dion's expedition; but we may leave the description of the later coins to a subsequent chapter.

At Naxos, as at too many other Sicilian cities, the mint enjoyed but a short span of activity in this period; for Dionysius crushed the city in 404. The tetradrachm has a new development of the older types, the god Dionysus being represented as youthful and beardless (Pl. VIII. 17). On the reverse is Silenus seated beside a vine, holding wine-cup, ivy-branch and wine-skin. More remarkable is the didrachm, of which some specimens (Pl. IX. 1) are signed by the artist Prokles (ΠΡΟΚΛΗΣ). It has a pretty, girlish head of Apollo (a laurel-leaf behind it), and a figure of the squatting Silenus. Most of the specimens show the head of Silenus in profile, but Prokles also attempted the task of

representing the head facing, as in the specimen illustrated. To do so with any success is the more difficult in proportion to the smallness of the scale; and it is probably for this reason that he has made the head disproportionately large.

Of the other Naxian coins, there is but one which we need mention, a half-drachm (Pl. VIII. 18), combining the Silenus type with the head of a river-god Assinus (ΑΣΣΙΝΟΣ)—either the river Acesines (sometimes called Asines), the *Cantara* of to-day, or else the little stream *S. Venera*, which is even nearer to Naxos. The inscription on all the coins of this period (when complete) is ΝΑΞΙΩΝ.

Two or three artists besides Euaenetus signed their names on the coins of Catana. Among them is Prokles, whom we have already found at Naxos; but a more remarkable artist is Herakleidas (ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ). The profile head of Apollo (Pl. IX. 3) with the powerful development of the cranium, and the singularly portrait-like features, ranks with the most individual of Syracusan heads, and, though not signed, probably comes from this engraver's hand. Both he and another artist, Choerion (ΧΟΙΡΙΩΝ), also represented Apollo's head facing (Pl. IX. 2, 4)—not, if we compare the similar subjects on Syracusan coins, with very much success. Choerion's head of Apollo (Pl. IX. 4) is crowned not with laurel, but



with an oak-wreath, and flanked by his attributes, the bow and the lyre. The god's name (ΑΓΓΟΛΛΩΝ) is placed under the head, and the artist's own name at the left side. Other types of this time are the lank-haired head of the river-god Amenanus (Pl. IX. 5), and the head of Silenus, facing, on silver drachms and half-drachms—a remarkable study of a bald-headed wine-bibber (Pl. IX. 6).

The bronze coins of Catana (which ceased to issue money in 403, when it was enslaved by Dionysius) need not detain us from passing on at once to Leontini. This city, as we have seen, fell from its former greatness in 425. But it enjoyed a short period of revival, when in 405 it was once more recognized as independent, only to have its inhabitants transported to Syracuse in 403. Of this brief span of existence there is a little monument, a unique silver half-drachm (Pl. IX. 7), which had long been known, but remained unappreciated until Mr. Evans pointed out its significance. On the obverse is the head of Apollo with the inscription ΛΕΟΝ, on the reverse ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ, with the type of a butting bull, and a fish in the exergue. The butting bull (a type derived from southern Italy) is also found on the contemporary silver *litra* of Catana. This little coin was undoubtedly struck by Catana and Leontini in alliance during the brief

period which preceded the overthrow of both cities.

The revival of Leontini at the time of Dion's expedition, when the liberator found his chief support in that city, is illustrated by a didrachm (Fig. 34) exactly corresponding to the 'Pegasus' of Syracuse



FIG. 34. LEONTINI: 'PEGASUS.'

already described ; except that this reads ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ for the other's ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, the two pieces are quite similar. The dating of these coins, it must be admitted, is no matter of certainty ; but Dion seems to have a better claim to them than Timoleon. To Dion's time also probably belongs a bronze coin with the head and tripod of Apollo.

We may now turn once more to western Sicily. At Selinus the type of the river-god sacrificing still appears on the tetradrachms, but the figures of Apollo and Artemis in their car are superseded by the four-horse chariot driven by Victory, the horses galloping, a wreath hung above them (Pl. IX. 8). The didrachm does not change its types ; the half-drachm has a head of Heracles,

sometimes three-quarter face, sometimes in profile. With the fall of Selinus in 409 the coinage ceased, never again to be revived.

At Segesta we still meet with the old type of the Crimisus, accompanied sometimes by only one dog (Pl. IX. 9 and Fig. 35); and, of course, the four-

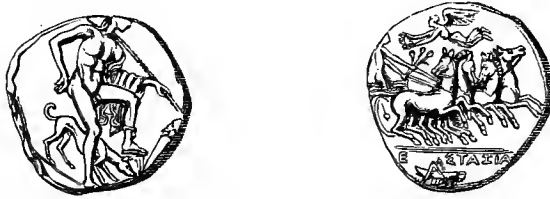


FIG. 35. SEGESTA: TETRADRACHM.

horse chariot is not missing. The horses are in high action, as is now usual, and the charioteer (possibly Persephone) holds three stalks of barley, which remind us of the plant behind the hound on the earlier coins. A rare tetradrachm (Pl. IX. 9) has, instead of the chariot-group, a figure of the local nymph sacrificing at an altar, while a figure of Victory flies to crown her. The form ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ or ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ, too, now begins to supersede the older form ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΒ or ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΑ. The hound and a female head are the types of all the smaller coins, except where the reverse is occupied by the inscription merely.

The Greek coinage of Segesta probably ceased in 409, when the city came into the power of

Carthage; it was possibly used as a mint by the Carthaginians, but we cannot with certainty ascribe coins to it again until the end of the First Punic War.

If it were not for the rudeness with which most specimens are executed, the types of Eryx at this time would be charming. On one tetradrachm (Pl. IX. 11) we see the goddess Aphrodite seated, holding one of her sacred doves, while before her stands Eros, raising his hand towards his mother, as if asking for the bird to play with. As might be expected, the forms of the child are those of a small man, rather than of an infant; like the early Italian painters, the early Greek sculptors were late in attaining the art of representing infantile forms. The inscription on this coin is  $\text{IRVK}\Lambda\text{IIB}$  (retrograde). On another tetradrachm with the same reverse type, but slightly later in date, the hound is replaced by the chariot-group, and the inscription takes the Greek form  $\text{EPVKINON}$ . Variations on the theme of Aphrodite and the hound provide all the types for the smaller coins (Pl. IX. 10, 12), on one of which the goddess plays with a dove, and the 'swastika' symbol is placed above the hound.

During the period when Eryx was in Carthaginian hands, coins were issued there which we shall

mention in connexion with the rest of the Siculo-Punic issues.

A small, but much discussed group of coins (half-drachms) is inscribed, in one form or another, with the words ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΑΝ and ΕΚ ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΟΥ, i.e. 'coin of the Heracleotes from Cephaloedium.' The types are a head of young Heracles and a butting bull; the style, according to Mr. Arthur Evans, shows them to be decidedly earlier than Timoleon's time. Were they struck by Heracleotes at Cephaloedium, or by inhabitants of some other place who had come from Cephaloedium? The former suggestion is hardly tenable, on grammatical grounds<sup>1</sup>.

It is by no means a rash assumption that the inhabitants of Cephaloedium were expelled by the Carthaginians (who, as we shall see, seem to have established a mint at this place) and that they settled in some friendly spot, keeping up their community and issuing coins with a legend recalling their native city. There is no occasion to connect these coins with Heraclea Minoa. They may be assigned to the brief period between the

<sup>1</sup> The preposition ἐκ can be used (the Athenian quota-lists give some striking examples) indifferently with ἐν, to express the people 'of' a place; but Mr. Evans pertinently remarks that when so used it is from the outsider's point of view; and that is not suitable to coin-dies engraved in Cephaloedium itself.

fall of Himera (409) and the recovery of Cephaloedium by Dionysius early in the fourth century, when the Greek inhabitants were probably restored.

Two or three of the minor cities in Sicily issued in this period coins which are of some interest. A pretty bronze coin (Pl. IX. 13) of about 400, or perhaps a little earlier, is the unique piece having on the obverse the head of a young river-god, with horn and pointed ear, and on the reverse a hound killing a fawn. In front of the head are six pellets, marking the coin as equivalent to six ounces or half a litra; and between the pellets are visible the letters ΙΑΚΙΝ. Numismatists have supplied a Γ in the small space before the first pellet, and attributed the coin to the town Piacus, mentioned by the Greek lexicographer, Stephen of Byzantium, and possibly also in a corrupt passage of the historian Diodorus Siculus<sup>1</sup>. Whether the attribution is right or not, we must wait for a second specimen to decide. The style of the head shows the influence of places like Leontini and Catana, although the type of the reverse, by its associations, would point rather to western Sicily. The late Mr. Samuel Butler has called attention to the uncertainty attaching to

<sup>1</sup> XII. 29. If Beloch and Pais are right in their emendation, Piacus was destroyed by Syracuse in 440; but it may easily have been revived and have struck coins before the end of the century.

the initial letter, and has made some use of this coin in connexion with the fact that the brooch of Odysseus, as described by Homer, represented a hound seizing a fawn; but to examine his theory here would lead us far astray from our subject.

Of the other small cities coining in this period we can hardly do more than merely mention the names:—Nacona (Fig. 36, head of a nymph, and



FIG. 36. NACONA: BRONZE.

Silenus riding on an ass); Morgantina (Fig. 37, head of Athena facing, and Victory seated);



FIG. 37. MORGANTINA: LITRA.      FIG. 38. ABACAENUM: LITRA.

Abacaenum (Fig. 38, head of nymph facing, and sow with a pig); Megara (restored; and represented by a single badly preserved coin); Haluntium; and (about the time of Dion) Agyrum. At the last-named city we find a river-god Palankaios (ΠΑΛΑΓΚΑΙΟΣ) represented as a human-headed bull.

We now come to a series of coins which presents

considerable difficulties to numismatists—the Siculo-Punic series. They have been divided—for want of a better arrangement—into three classes, expressing the degree of our ignorance concerning them:

1. Coins with inscriptions which enable us to assign them to a definite mint.

2. Coins with an inscription of which the meaning is known, but which does not enable us to assign them to any definite mint.

3. Coins with the inscription *ziz*, of which the meaning is uncertain.

We cannot do better than describe them under these headings. And, for once, we shall break through the limits of our period; owing to the great continuity of the series in point of style, and describe the whole Siculo-Punic coinage down to the closing years of the fourth century, when the victories of Agathocles put an end to this exotic currency.

Motya (*Mtua*) we have already found coining in the fifth century. The imitation of Acragantine types did not cease, even after the destruction of Acragas. Thus we find the crab used as the reverse type of a tetradrachm which has on the obverse an imitation of Cimon's head of Arethusa in his second manner. Smaller coins, also with the crab reverse,



have obverses imitated from his facing head of Arethusa (Fig. 39). A type more significant of the nationality of the men who issued the coin is the

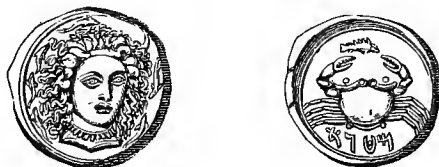


FIG. 39. MOTYA: DIDRACHM.

date-palm which we find on the smaller silver pieces (Pl. IX. 14) and on most of the bronze.

The coinage of Motya came to an end in 397, when its population was massacred by Dionysius. Lilybaeum, in which the remnant found a place to settle, did not, so far as we know, strike any coins until it became a Roman possession in the third century.

Solus, which we also found striking coins in the preceding period, continues to issue a somewhat feeble currency (Fig. 40). The majority of these



FIG. 40. SOLUS: BRONZE.

pieces are inscribed in Punic letters *Kfra*, i. e. 'Village,' and that this was the Punic name for Solus is proved by a few bronze coins which

also bear the inscription ΣΟΛΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Such for instance is a piece with the head of Heracles wearing the lion's skin, and a cray-fish with three pellets—a quarter-litra, therefore.

Possibly the tetradrachms (Pl. IX. 15) with the head of Persephone and a four-horse chariot, uninscribed but for the Punic letter *K*, may also belong to this city. Otherwise there are no silver coins above the value of an obol to which it can lay claim.

Eryx—the Greek coins of which we have already described—takes its place in the Punic series with two coins reading *'rk*, a pretty little obol with the head of Aphrodite and a human-headed bull, and a 'Pegasus' with the head of Athena and Pegasus. The latter can hardly belong to any time before Dion's, and is very possibly later still.

Passing over a coin of Morgantina with the Punic letter *M*, we come to the more important series of tetradrachms inscribed *Rsmkrt*, 'Ras Melkart,' or 'Cape of Heracles.' These have usually been ascribed to Heraclea Minoa, near Acragas; but recently it has been shown by Holm that Cephaloedium on the north coast has at least equally good claims. The tetradrachms all have the galloping chariot, but they differ in that some bear the head of Persephone, surrounded by dolphins



## PLATE IX

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16. Ras Melkart: tetradrachm (obv.) . . . . .	143





(Fig. 41); others a female head also accompanied by dolphins, but without a wreath (Pl. X. 1); others again a bearded head wearing a laurel

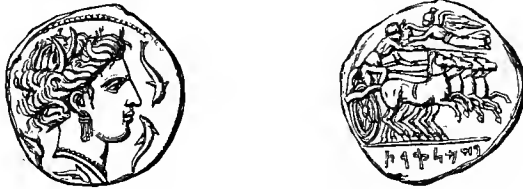


FIG. 41. RAS MELKART: TETRADRACHM.

wreath—probably Melkart, the Tyrian Heracles (Pl. IX. 16). The coins are as a rule poor in style, showing clearly the barbarian hand striving to imitate Syracusan work. If the attribution to Cephaloedium is correct, the coinage must have come to an end when the place was betrayed to Dionysius early in the fourth century; and the style of the coins is consistent with this conclusion.

The silver coins of the second class fall into three groups, according as they are inscribed (or have the same types as those which are inscribed) with the Punic letters:

*Krtchdst*, i.e. *Kartchadsat*, for 'New City (of Carthage)';

*Ammchnt*, i.e. *Ammachanat*, (or variant forms) for 'the Camp';

and *Mchsbm*, i.e. *Mechasbim*, for 'the Paymasters.'

Such are the interpretations now generally approved; and yet they do not carry us very far towards the aim of every numismatist, which is in the first place to find out where a coin was struck. Closely connected with these coins are two groups, one of gold coins, another of bronze, which bear no inscription at all.

The types of the silver coins are interesting, partly as imitations of the types of the Greek cities, sometimes evidently by a Punic hand, and not by that of a Greek engraver working for the Carthaginian; partly also for their African allusions. The head of Kora which we find on many of the 'Carthage' and 'camp' coins (Pl. X. 5, 6) is obviously a copy—and usually a poor one—of Syracusan work. The forepart of the horse (Fig. 42; cp. Pl. X. 3) on



FIG. 42. SICULO-PUNIC TETRADRACHM.

another was, it is thought, suggested by a gold coin of Gela. The free horse, again (Pl. X. 4), is of Syracusan origin. A head of Heracles in the lion's skin (Pl. X. 8) on a 'camp' coin shows clearly the influence of the coins of Alexander the Great, and



the coins of this type must therefore belong to the last decade or so of the Carthaginian occupation. Even so, it is a strong testimony to the importance which Alexander's coins at once acquired in Greek trade that they should have been imitated in Sicily before he had been dead ten years. The types of the palm-tree, and the horse or lion with a palm-tree in the background (Pl. X. 2) 4, 5), are on the other hand inspired by Africa; and the bust of a horse (Pl. X. 6, 8), which is often treated with much spirit, reminds us of the omen which decided the choice of the site of Carthage :

quo primum, iactati undis et turbine, Poeni  
effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno  
monstrarat, caput acris equi.

Vergil, *Aen.* i. 442.

The fine head of a woman (Pl. X. 7) wearing a 'Phrygian' cap—i.e. the headdress of an eastern ruler—with a diadem over it, is generally regarded, because of the royal attire, as representing the legendary foundress of Carthage. But the identification is purely conjectural.

The genuineness of a tetradrachm with these types, but with ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ replacing the Punic inscriptions, is open to considerable doubt.

The gold coins which belong to this series are uninscribed, and their types show nothing new. The Phoenician 'sign of Baal' which occurs on one

variety (Pl. X. 9) over a free horse is also found on some of the silver tetradrachms.

We now come to the large series of coins inscribed *Ziz*. The most important are the not uncommon imitations of the Syracusan coins with a chariot-group (Pl. X. 10-12). Some of them represent coins which were issued at Syracuse in the previous period; others are obviously taken from the decadrachms of Euaenetus.

Even the best of these heads, it should be noticed, fall far short of the work of the Greek coins in point of execution, and we must hesitate before we admit that Greek artists worked for the Carthaginians. There is a hardness and lack of feeling and spirit about the treatment of the heads which we do not find even in the most careless work of Syracuse at this time; one feels instinctively that these designs are copied from others.

Over the remainder of the types of this coinage we must not linger; but a bare list of some of them, which may be consigned to a footnote<sup>1</sup>, shows

<sup>1</sup> Youthful male head with dolphins, and free horse (Pl. X. 13); female head, and hound with murex-shell (Pl. X. 14); dolphin with scallop-shell (marked with 5 pellets), and eagle with hare; female head (swastika behind), and forepart of man-headed bull; head of young river-god, and same reverse as preceding; cock, and crab head of Apollo, and Pegasus; head of Athena, and swan on waves, etc. etc.

that they have no significant relation to any one mint. A complete list would present subjects which, it has been shown, are reminiscent of Syracuse, Messina, Gela, Catania, Himera, Acragas, Leontini, Thermae, and other places. Whatever *Ziz* may mean—and it is unnecessary here to mention the various conjectures—we may accept the view that the coins were struck, chiefly in the West of Sicily, and more especially at Panormus, the larger coins for general circulation wherever Punic armies went, the smaller with very definite local types for local use. It is quite clear from their style that these coins extend nearly to the end of the fourth century. As to their upper limit, it has been suggested by Mr. Evans that the sea-horse in the exergue of the coins engraved by the artist Mai . . . (Pl. VIII. 10) at Himera is inferior to, and was inspired by, the same symbol on the Siculo-Punic tetradrachms (Pl. X. 12); and that, since Himera was destroyed in 409, these pieces must have been struck by the Punic cities, or more especially by Panormus, just before, and with a view to the great invasion. The possibility of the imitation having taken place the other way about must, however, be carefully considered before we accept this ingenious hypothesis. Apart from the difficulty of estimating the comparative stylistic merits of minute symbols in the

exergue, it seems less likely that the Greek artist of Himera should have been induced to adopt the symbol placed on the Punic coins about a year before, than that, when the Carthaginians took Himera, they should have imitated on their coins the last issues of that mint.



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14.	"    "    "    . . . . .	146







## CHAPTER IV

### THE DECLINE

B.C. 346-274

OUR new period opens with a changed Sicily. The result of the expeditions of Dion and Timoleon, more especially the latter, was the sudden revival of many communities that had sunk into insignificance, and the appearance as active, though not powerful factors in Sicilian politics of many small states of which practically nothing had been known before. Syracuse does not exercise that blighting influence over the political life of Sicily which distinguished it under the tyrants, but it is still by far the most important city, and with its coinage we again begin the chapter.

Dion, as we have seen, issued electrum coins; with Timoleon we have a return to the more satisfactory metal gold (Pl. XI. 1). The head of  $\text{I}\epsilon\Upsilon\Xi$   $\text{E}\Lambda\epsilon\Upsilon\Theta\epsilon\pi\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma$ , the Zeus of Freedom, is indeed appropriate to Timoleon; the cult of Zeus in this aspect had been established in Syracuse at the time of the first expulsion of the tyrants, and history

naturally repeated itself, in that the god found fresh honour in connexion with the newly restored constitution. The Pegasus is of course due to Corinthian influence. The coin—as the three pellets show—is a piece equivalent to three silver staters of the Pegasus-class. These were now issued (Pl. XI. 2) with the same types as in Dion's time, but with the long *o* in the inscription: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝΝ and not ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ as on the earlier stater. A rarer stater (Pl. XI. 3) represents the head of Zeus Eleutherios. Of the many smaller silver coins it must suffice to mention but one, which associates with the free horse (doubtless here used as an emblem of liberty) a curious combination of two heads, similar to the representation of the Roman god Janus, except that the two heads here seem to be female (Pl. XI. 4). Such double-headed representations are not uncommon on Greek coins, and are as a rule exceedingly difficult to interpret.

The bronze coins which begin with Timoleon are numerous and interesting. Some of them exceed an inch in diameter, and are very thick, with the types in bold relief. This increase in size and weight shows that they were a more important element in the currency than any bronze coins had been before the issue of the *litra* described in the preceding chapter (p. 114). The Pegasus in one form

or another is the dominant type, as on the silver; but we also note the appearance of a bearded male head (Pl. XI. 5), wearing a 'Corinthian' helmet. This may be merely the war-god Ares, but has also been explained as Archias, the founder of the city, or as the god Hadranus, whom we shall meet with on coins of Hadranum. The facing head of a young river-god has been called the Anapus—it was from this river that Timoleon seized Epipolæ—and another facing head is thought to be the fountain Cyane. Zeus Eleutherios is of course to be found on the bronze coins (Fig. 43)

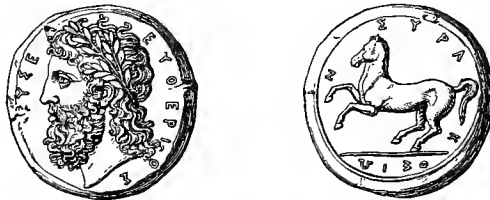


FIG. 43. SYRACUSE : BRONZE.

as on other metals; but a special interest attaches to some of the bronze pieces with his head. These present as the type of their reverse a thunderbolt, set up on end, and, in the field beside it, a small eagle. Now the combination of the two most characteristic attributes of Zeus, where the eagle stands on the thunderbolt, is without doubt one of the commonest of Greek types; but in the form which it assumes here, it is unusual. It is, however,

met with on the coins of Alexander, king of Epirus, and we need not hesitate to accept the suggestion that, in the expectation or hope of drawing this king to Sicily when in 332 he went to southern Italy, the Syracusans issued coins with his types<sup>1</sup>. Another type is the head of Zeus Hellanios; the barking hound which adorns the reverse of this coin is probably the animal sacred to Hadranus. For that god was said to have intervened on the side of Timoleon in his first battle with Hicetas; and, again, it was while sacrificing to him at Hadranum that the liberator was saved from assassination at the hands of the hirelings of his enemy by what seemed to be divine intervention.

Such was the Syracusan coinage from the arrival of Timoleon down to the accession of Agathocles. The coins struck during the period of the latter's tyrannis are singularly rich, even for Sicilian coins, in details illustrating his career.

Agathocles was chosen general with supreme powers in 317. The coins issued from this time until the date of his invasion of Africa in 310 do not bear his name; but they are distinguished from all earlier Syracusan issues by the appearance of the three-legged symbol, popularly called *triquetra*, but more correctly *triskeles*. This symbol, what-

<sup>1</sup> The same combination of types also appears at Agyrium (p. 177).

ever may be its meaning in other parts of the world, is generally supposed to be the emblem of the three-cornered island, Trinacria,—very much as it became in later days the emblem of the Isle of Man which faces towards the three countries, England, Scotland and Ireland. Yet we must hesitate somewhat to admit that, several years before the conquests of Agathocles gave them the right to make such a claim, the Syracusans placed upon their coins an emblem which implied domination over the whole island. It is not impossible that the triskeles was originally the private signet of Agathocles, and that its adoption as the emblem of all Sicily belongs to a later date. Were it otherwise, we should expect to find it used prominently in the time of the kings Pyrrhus and Hiero, who were recognized as kings of the Siceliotas. As a matter of fact, except on the coins of Agathocles, it is never or rarely found in Sicily save on coins of Roman date; and to the Romans therefore we



FIG. 44. SYRACUSE: GOLD OF AGATHOCLES.

may perhaps attribute the extension of its significance.

The best known gold coin of Agathocles' first period is the imitation (Fig. 44) of the 'Philippus,' the gold stater issued by Philip II of Macedon in enormous quantities from the output of his famous gold mines at Philippi. The types are the same as on the model, a laureate male head, representing either Ares or Apollo, and a two-horse chariot; but the name of Philip is replaced by ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, and the symbol in the field, which indicated the place of mintage, by the triskeles. The 'Philippi' were an even more important element in the currency of the ancient world than the Corinthian staters or the tetradrachms of Alexander, and we have already seen how these left their mark on Sicilian coinage.

These Philippean types were used by Agathocles for two gold coins, one of sixty, the other of forty litrae (Pl. XI. 7). A still smaller gold coin of twenty litrae has the head of Persephone and a bull with lowered head (Pl. XI. 6).

When we come to the silver coinage, we find the 'Pegasi' still being issued, but distinguished (Pl. XI. 8) by a more elaborate helmet (ornamented with a griffin) for Athena, and by the triskeles symbol on the reverse. The tetradrachms, however (Pl. XI. 9), are more characteristic of the period; the head of Persephone still shows the influence

of Euaenetus, soon to disappear, and the falling off in the composition of the reverse is patent<sup>1</sup>.

The drachm belonging to this series (Pl. XI. 10) has a head of Ares (or Apollo) similar to that on the gold coins, and a triskeles with wings attached to the feet and the head of the Gorgon in its centre. This elaboration of the symbol strengthens our view that, at this time, it can hardly have been meant merely to indicate the three-cornered island.

The bronze coins (*e.g.* Pl. XI. 11) belonging to this series are of little importance; the time of the large bronzes is past.

The second series of Agathocles' coins ranges from 310, when he avenged on Carthage the invasion of Sicily made just a century before, to the time of his assumption of the royal title, about 304 (not, as is usually stated, in 307). The gold and silver coins now bear his name; and with good reason, since he must have required to strike them in large quantities for his military chest. But the less important bronze is still issued in the name of the Syracusans. The gold coin (Pl. XI. 12) is a stater with remarkable types. On the obverse is a youth

<sup>1</sup> The monogram of AN, which frequently occurs on these tetradrachms and on other coins of Agathocles, may possibly be the signature of the tyrant's brother Antandrus.

ful head wearing an elephant's skin, probably the personification of Africa. On the reverse, which bears the tyrant's name in the genitive (ΑΓΑΘΟΟ-ΚΛΕΟΣ), is a figure of Athena, *winged* (and evidently meant for that goddess in her aspect of Victory); she wears her helmet, carries her shield on her left arm, and strikes forward with her spear. In the field is an owl. The coin is obviously modelled on one of Ptolemy I, king of Egypt, who, however, does not represent Athena as winged. The compliment paid to Ptolemy preceded, rather than followed Agathocles' marriage with the king's step-daughter Theoxena, which apparently took place after 304. The owl is of course in place beside Athena; but a further significance attaches to it in view of the story that, when his army was drawn up against the Carthaginians in 310, Agathocles encouraged his men by letting fly a number of captured owls, which settled on their helmets and seemed an omen that the goddess of battles was on their side.

The types of the silver tetradrachms (Pl. XI. 13, 14) are a head of Persephone, treated in a style quite different from that of Agathocles' earlier tetradrachms; and a figure of Victory nailing a helmet to a trophy stand, which is already adorned with cuirass, shield and greaves. On some of these



coins (Pl. XI. 13) we still find the inscription ΣΥΡΑ-ΚΟΣΙΩΝ on the obverse ; more commonly, however (Pl. XI. 14), this is replaced by ΚΟΡΑΣ ('coin of the Maiden-Goddess'). With the exception of a few uninscribed pieces, all the reverses bear the name of Agathocles, either in the genitive as on the gold, or in the adjectival form ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ. The naming of the Maiden-Goddess on the obverse may have been merely an excuse for getting rid of the name of the Syracusans ; but it is more probably to be connected with the fact that Agathocles, when he landed in Africa, dedicated his ships to Demeter and Kora before setting fire to them. The sacrifice of his ships was, as it were, permanently commemorated on these coins, which are themselves sacred to the goddess Kora—for such is the sense of the genitive ΚΟΡΑΣ. In the exergue of some of the bronze coins of this period, the obverse type of which is a head of Heracles, the reverse a lion and a club, we find a burning torch (Pl. XI. 16). It is, however, somewhat rash to suggest that this symbol refers to the burning of the ships ; were the types in any way connected with Demeter and Persephone, the interpretation might be accepted. The head of Artemis with the epithet ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ ('Saviour'), the head of Athena with a trophy behind it, a mounted lancer, and

a thunderbolt are other types of the bronze of this period. They all bear the name of the Syracusans, and are without the triskeles symbol.

We now come to the last period of Agathocles, from about 304 to his death in 289. The gold coins (Fig. 45) bear his name with the royal title: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ. The types are the head



FIG. 45. SYRACUSE: GOLD OF AGATHOCLES.

of Athena and a thunderbolt. The ordinary bronze coin of this period has the same type and inscription on the reverse, but the head of Artemis ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ replaces that of Athena (Pl. XI. 15). As to the silver coinage there is some dispute. Most authorities agree in assigning to this time the uninscribed 'Pegasi' which have for symbol on the reverse either a triskeles or a star (Pl. XI. 17), and are of the weight of eight litrae (about 108 grains), or one-tenth of the value of the gold coins of eighty litrae. These coins herald the abandonment of the Euboic-Attic standard of weight. Some doubt attaches to the dating of certain silver pieces (Pl. XI. 18) of fifteen litrae (head of Kora with long hair, and chariot driven by winged Victory,

a star above it) and of bronze pieces which are of strongly similar style, although the charioteer is not a Victory. They have been assigned by one to the time of Hicetas, by another to the period of democracy following Hicetas; while Holm believes that they may possibly belong to the close of Agathocles' tyrannis. The piece of fifteen litrae would, on the last hypothesis, be the quarter of a gold piece of sixty litrae also attributed to Agathocles. It is more probable that of the two pieces in question the bronze only belongs to the time of Agathocles, and the silver to that of Hicetas. For strong similarity of style cannot avail to prevent us separating such coins by what may after all be no more than two or three years. But such problems as the dating of these pieces, although the delight of numismatists, are of little general interest when the types concerned are somewhat banal.

The brief span of liberty enjoyed by the Syracusans between the death of Agathocles and the usurpation of Hicetas was marked by the issue of two or three kinds of coins,—in the poorest of metals, it is true, but all eloquent of the newly recovered sense of freedom. One coin exactly resembles the coin of Agathocles with the head of Artemis Soteira, but the tyrant's name is replaced by that of Zeus

Eleutherios (in the genitive: ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ). Another has the head of the god of freedom, similarly inscribed, on the obverse, his thunderbolt and ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ on the reverse. Finally, it is possible that in this short period also were issued the bronze coins (Pl. XI. 19) with a youthful laureate head inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ, recalling the Zeus Hellanios of Timoleon's time. The reverse of these pieces has an eagle standing on a thunderbolt—a type which recalls the constant type of Ptolemaic money. We have already seen another approximation to Egyptian types in the coinage of Agathocles.

These humble coins were, however, soon put in the shade by a fresh issue of gold. The new tyrant Hicetas made a pretence of deferring to the feelings of the Syracusans. His gold coin (a piece of sixty litrae) differs from any struck since the first period of Agathocles in that it bears the name ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (Pl. XII. 1). It is also remarkable that instead of placing his name on the coin in the simple genitive, which would be equivalent to assuming the sovereignty, Hicetas prefixes to it the preposition used in dating a year by the name of the magistrate who holds office for the time. In other words, these coins are inscribed as being not the coins 'of Hicetas,' but the coins struck 'during the magistracy of Hicetas' (ΕΠΙ ΗΚΕΤΑ).



PLATE XI

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The silver coin of Hicetas, as we have seen, is probably to be found in the pieces of fifteen litrae described above (Pl. XI. 18); the driver of the chariot is on these, as on the gold of Hicetas, a winged Victory. For his bronze we can understand that the cautious tyrant was quite content to use the old 'freedom' types, without issuing new ones.

The king of Epirus, whose romantic search for adventure brought him as far as Sicily, has left his impress on the coinage of the island. His gold coin of 120 litrae (of the weight of the ordinary gold stater) is an exceedingly pretty piece (Pl. XII. 2). We have reached a time when, so far as the art of Greek coins is concerned, it is no longer possible to use the epithets of highest praise. To one coming from the study of modern coins, the gold piece of Pyrrhus might seem beautiful indeed; with the memory fresh in our minds of what had been done in the fifth century, and the early part of the fourth, we can see that the elegant little coin before us lacks the strength and originality of its predecessors of the fine period. There is not much fault to find with the obverse; but the reverse shows restlessness, not to say affectation in the composition. The unnatural way in which Victory's right wing is pushed

forward betrays the desire to balance the weight of the trophy which she carries on her left arm. The treatment of the dress also smells somewhat of the lamp; the whole coin is in fact finicking in its style. Yet, when we come to the period of Roman domination, we should be grateful indeed for anything remotely approaching the level of this piece; and even the best of the coins of Hiero II fall below it.

The half of this gold stater is represented by coins with the same reverse type, but with a head of Artemis instead of Athena on the obverse, her quiver at her shoulder (Pl. XII. 3).

The head of Persephone on the silver coin (Pl. XII. 4) of about 90 grains is closely related in style to the head on Agathocles' coins. As to the figure of Athena on the reverse, we have already seen a somewhat similar representation of the goddess, with wings added, on an Agathoclean gold coin, and remarked that the type was inspired by a coin of Ptolemy I of Egypt. Pyrrhus indeed was, like Agathocles, related to Ptolemy by marriage. The most interesting of his bronze Sicilian coins represents the (doubtless idealized) portrait of his mother Phthia, veiled, and inscribed  $\Phi\Theta\text{I}\Lambda\Sigma$  (Pl. XII. 5). The reverse of this coin has a thunderbolt. Another bronze combines with a head of

Persephone of the usual Syracusan style the figure of the goddess Demeter, seated on a throne, and holding a stalk of corn and a sceptre (Pl. XII. 6). On a third bronze a head of Athena on the obverse is associated with the reverse type of a wreath of oak-leaves (from the sacred oak at Dodona in Epirus) within which is an ear of barley (Pl. XII. 7).

All these coins (except some of the last class) are inscribed with Pyrrhus' name and royal title— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ}$ . But the coinage of Syracuse at this time was not represented by Pyrrhus' money alone. We have a small group of coins which were issued in the name of the Syracusans during the presence of the Epirote king in Sicily. The gold piece (Pl. XII. 8) with a long-haired head of Persephone, and Victory driving a two-horse chariot, closely resembles the gold coins which were afterwards struck by Hiero II. Of the bronze coins, one has a similar head, and a torch in the



FIG. 46. SYRACUSE: BRONZE.

Dodonaean oak-wreath, while another represents a head of Heracles, beardless, wearing the lion's

skin, and Athena fighting,—either as we have just seen her on the coins of Pyrrhus himself, with a spear, or, as in Fig. 46, with a thunderbolt.

We have brought the coinage of Syracuse down to the time of the accession of Hiero II. The description of the coinage of the rest of Sicily from the time of Timoleon to the same date will make us acquainted with several new mints, the coinage of which is interesting historically, although commercially it cannot have been of much importance. The only serious rival to the Syracusan coinage, that of the Carthaginians in Sicily, we have already brought down to its cessation under Agathocles.

The list of Hellenic cities which now concern us is sadly short. Acragas, still suffering from the disaster of 406, raised its head feebly in Timoleon's day. The largest silver coin it struck then was an uninscribed half-drachm with a free horse, and the old emblem of the crab (Pl. XII. 9). A head of Zeus and an eagle standing (Fig. 47)



FIG. 47. ACRAGAS: LITRA.

are the types of the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  litra and 1 litra, inscribed ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ. The head of the river-god ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ is the type of the best of the bronze coins (Fig. 48); it is a half-litra, as is shown by the reverse which,

in addition to the eagle standing on a column, and the crab in the field, is marked with six pellets.

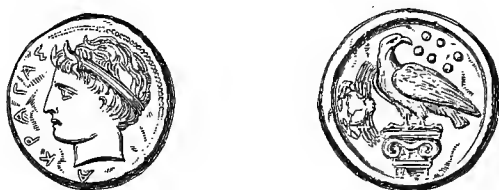


FIG. 48. ACRAGAS: BRONZE HALF-LITRA.

Along with a few other bronze coins, this was all that the Acragantine mint produced until the death of Agathocles; indeed it is probable that under that tyrant the Acragantines were obliged to content themselves with Syracusan coins.

Phintias, the by no means inefficient imitator of Agathocles, struck coins which fall into two groups. To the first (Fig. 49) belong bronzes inscribed



FIG. 49. ACRAGAS: BRONZE OF PHINTIAS.

ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ and ΦΙ; the types are a young laureate head (the same head of Apollo or Ares that we found on the Syracusan gold coins imitated from the staters of Philip II of Macedon) and either two eagles on a hare, or a single eagle. These coins must have been meant in the first instance for circulation in Acragas. But, as king

of a considerable portion of Sicily, Phintias issued bronze coins inscribed on the reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ, with the type of a boar; on the obverse is either the head of the river-god Acragas crowned with barley (Pl. XII. 10), or a head of Artemis (Pl. XII. 11), sometimes inscribed ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ. These coins bear no city-name. As to the boar, numismatists are no doubt right in explaining it by reference to the story that Phintias learned in a vision how he should be slain by a boar; but whether he then adopted the coin-type with a view to propitiating the deity whom he had apparently offended, or whether his use of the boar as a symbol was not rather the origin of the story, is a nice question for the critical mythologist.

The city of Gela figures even more poorly in the history of this period than does its daughter Acragas. First, in the time of Timoleon, it is represented by silver diobols and pieces of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obols. The river-god Gelas (ΓΕΛΑΣ) is represented as a bearded head;



FIG. 50. GELA:  $1\frac{1}{2}$  OBOL.

(Fig. 50) the free horse symbolizes liberty. The settlement of the constitution by Timoleon is alluded to by the head of the goddess EYNOMIA (Order, the daughter of Themis), who is represented in the

guise of Demeter. On the reverse of this diobol is a bull standing on an ear of barley—a reminiscence of the earlier representations of the river Gelas and the fertile Geloan plain—and the old inscription ‘of the Geloans’ (ΓΕΛΩΝΙΩΝ). A bronze

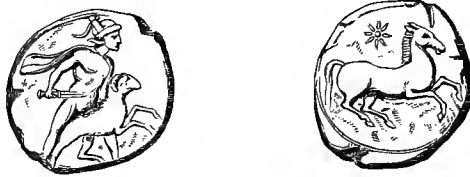


FIG. 51. GELA : BRONZE.

coin (Fig. 51) on which a youth (the founder, Antiphemus?) is sacrificing a ram can also be attributed to Gela, though it bears no inscription; for the same type occurs on an inscribed coin of a later period.

The third of the once great cities of the southern coast (Camarina) is represented by an even more exiguous currency than the other two. A unique little silver coin with Athena and a free horse, and bronze coins with a similar reverse, and the head of Athena in an ‘Attic’ helmet (Pl. XII. 12), are the only known issues. They belong to Timoleon’s time; and although the city continued to exist, it never struck coins again.

One other old Hellenic city, Messana, produced a few coins in the time of Timoleon and Hicetas; but the metal was only bronze. In fact the money

of these periods is generally eloquent of the impoverishment of the whole island, caused by the troublous time through which it had gone.

The types of Messina in the time of Timoleon are, as before, the head of the nymph Pelorias (ΠΕΛΩΡΙΑΣ) assimilated to that of Persephone, and accompanied by dolphins, and the hero Pheraemon (Pl. XII. 13). Somewhat later we find a galloping two-horse chariot associated with the head of the nymph. Just before the incursion of the Mamertines (which took place about 288 or 287) Messina was using bronze coins (Pl. XII. 14) with the head of Poseidon (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝ) on the obverse, and his trident flanked by two dolphins on the reverse (types which we shall find at Syracuse under Hiero). To the same time belong other coins with the head of young Heracles in the lion's skin, and on the reverse a lion with the hero's club above it, and sometimes a torch in the exergue (types which we have already seen on Syracusan coins of the time of Agathocles).

With the massacre of the Messanians, and the occupation of their city by the Italian soldiers of fortune who called themselves 'followers of Mamers,' the war-god, the name of the Messanians (ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ) is replaced by that of the Mamertines (ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ). The new coinage, like the old,



is of bronze; but there is no need to explain this by the relation in which the Mamertines stood to Rome from 264 onwards, although that relation would probably not have permitted of their striking silver coins had they had the opportunity. The types of the bronze coins are numerous and interesting. Among the first stands a coin almost exactly copied from the bronze of Syracuse with the head of Zeus Hellanios and the eagle on a thunderbolt. It was struck in all probability just after the Mamertines had left Syracuse. They calmly appropriated the types, inscribing the young laureate head with the name of the war-god Ares (ΑΡΕΟΣ) as well as altering the inscription of the reverse to their own name (Fig. 52). The eagle of



FIG. 52. MESSANA-MAMERTINI: BRONZE.

course had no relation to Ares. Another coin shows on the obverse (Pl. XII. 15) a bearded, helmeted head of the mysterious Oriental deity Hadranus (ΑΔΡΑΝΟΥ), who was naturalized in Sicily; on the reverse is one of his sacred hounds. The name of Messana lingers in the inscription

of another coin, which presents the head of a youthful Zeus with long hair: ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΣ ('sacred to the Messanian Zeus'). To this group also belongs the coin with the head of Artemis, and the omphalos (the sacred stone of Apollo at Delphi, Pl. XII. 20). One variety of the last coin is especially interesting because the inscription takes the form MAMEPTINOYM, evidently a transliteration of the Italic genitive plural *Mamertinum*.

Many of the bronze coins we have described were in circulation at Messana down to the close of the third century, but the impossibility of accurately dating them has made it necessary to deal with them as one group.

The scanty coinage of the old Hellenic cities is to some extent supplemented by that of two communities, which date their existence from 396. In that year certain Sicels, who were in possession of the territory of old Naxos, founded, with the help of the Carthaginian Himilco, a city which grew into Tauromenium (*Taormina*). Four years later it was occupied by mercenaries of the Syracusan tyrant; and finally, just before the expedition of Dion, the remnant of the old Naxians was established as the community of Tauromenium. The head of Apollo the founder of the settlement (ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ) is the obverse type (Pl. XII. 18) of all the earliest bronze

coins. The bull (*tauros*) is a natural type for the reverse (Pl. XII. 19), and we find it in various forms, sometimes with a human head. The name of the people stands in the Doric genitive ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ.

To Tauromenium also it is possible that we should ascribe certain little gold coins (Pl. XII. 16, 17) which seem to belong to about the year 300, and are distinguished by a monogram which may be resolved into ΑΓ or ΓΑ. This monogram—true, a very common one in all parts of the Greek world—occurs on Tauromenite coins. The types are a head of Athena, and her owl; or a head of Apollo, and his lyre. All four types are found on coins of Tauromenium such as we shall describe in the next period. These gold coins have generally been ascribed to Panormus during its brief occupation by Pyrrhus (278-276). If Holm is right in his objection to this attribution, we have here the earliest gold coinage of Tauromenium.

In 396, Dionysius settled, at a point on the north coast some 36 miles west of Messana, a number of exiles from Peloponnesian Messene and from Naupactus, whom the Spartans after the end of the Peloponnesian War had expelled from their homes. The new city was called Tyndaris and has left its name to C. Tindaro. The Messenians claimed

Castor and Pollux, sons of Tyndareus, as their national heroes; and presumably Helen as a national heroine. Thus it is that on the earliest coins—some of which may have been struck just before the beginning of this period—we find a female head wearing a stephane and inscribed ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΣ, doubtless meant for Helen; on the bronze coins with this type a star is put behind the head, marking her association with the *fratres Helenae, lucida sidera* (Fig. 53). On the reverse of the silver



FIG. 53. TYNDARIS: BRONZE.

coins (obols) is a free horse with the twin stars above it; on the bronze, one of the brothers on horseback, holding a palm-branch, symbol of victory (Fig. 53).

To the time of Timoleon, or the years succeeding his death, belongs a series of bronze coins. Tyndaris appears to have conquered—doubtless during the war of liberation—the Sicel city of Agathyrnon (near C. d'Orlando), and accordingly one of its new coins bears the figure of the Sicel warrior ΑΓΑΘΥΡΝΟΣ, eponymous hero of the subject city; on the obverse is a head of Apollo and the in-

scription ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΔΟΣ ('of Tyndaris'). The other coins bear the name of the people ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ, and, in combination with the heads of Persephone or Apollo, show either the Dioscuri on horseback (Pl. XII. 21) with the epithet ΣΩΤΗΡΕΣ ('Saviours'), or a horse's head which seems to be inspired by that on the Carthaginian coins. The Dioscuri as 'Saviours' are usually supposed to have special reference to Timoleon's expedition; but the epithet often refers to these demi-gods in their character of protectors of seafaring men, and is not out of place on the coins of this maritime city.

We have already seen (p. 142) that the influence of the Corinthian pegasus made itself felt in the remote West in the days of Dion or Timoleon. To the time of the latter belongs a bronze coin reading [ΕΡ]ΥΚΙΝΩΝ, with the head of Zeus Eleutherios and the local type of Aphrodite seated holding a dove. It is one of the series, which we shall deal with later, struck upon Syracusan 'blanks.' If we did not know from the historian Diodorus that a number of the communities subject to the Carthaginians joined Timoleon, this coin (with its revived Greek inscription) would tell us that Eryx at least was counted among his allies. The remainder of the coins issued by Eryx at this time we may pass over.

It is doubtful whether Segesta issued any coins in this period. If she did, they would be bronze coins with the type of a hound, and of small importance.

We have now to consider a remarkable series, the most striking monument of Timoleon's influence on Sicilian politics. These are the bronze coins issued by a large number of small Sicilian communities, mostly in the rough interior of the island. Some few of them may have been issued just before Timoleon's arrival, but the majority of them belong to his time. Nothing could be greater than the contrast between the days of Dionysius the Elder, when these cities lay silent in political death, and the new age when they spring into active, though in some cases too brief, existence, as members of a confederation under the lead of Syracuse. But the confederation was poor, not only in men fit to guide it—for there was none to stand beside Timoleon, and he was a foreigner—but also in money. So to obtain the metal for their coins, which were all of bronze, they took in many cases the Syracusan pieces with the head of Athena on the obverse, and the sea-star or the hippocamp on the reverse, and re-struck them with their own dies. One series of these is distinguished by the absence of any mint-name, and by the presence of the inscription ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ (*Symma-*



PLATE XII

	PAGE
1. Syracuse, Hicetas: gold (60 litrae) . . . . .	160
2. " Pyrrhus: gold (120 litrae) . . . . .	161
3. " " " (60 " obv.) . . . . .	162
4. " " piece of 90 grains . . . . .	162
5. " " bronze (obv.) . . . . .	162
6. " " " (rev.) . . . . .	163
7. " " " ( " ) . . . . .	163
8. " gold (60 litrae) . . . . .	163
9. Acragas: half-drachm . . . . .	164
10. " Phintias: bronze . . . . .	166
11. " " " (obv.) . . . . .	166
12. Camarina: bronze . . . . .	167
13. Messana: " . . . . .	168
14. " " . . . . .	168
15. Mamertini: " (obv.) . . . . .	169
16. Tauromenium?: gold . . . . .	171
17. " " . . . . .	171
18. " bronze (obv.) . . . . .	170
19. " " (rev.) . . . . .	171
20. Mamertini: bronze (rev.) . . . . .	170
21. Tyndaris: bronze . . . . .	173
22. 'Alliance': bronze. <i>Brussels (formerly in the Hirsch Collection)</i>	175







*chikon*, 'coinage of the alliance'). Their type is either (Pl. XII. 22) a torch between two ears of barley, or a thunderbolt (Fig. 54). One of them, it

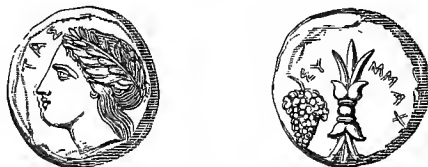


FIG. 54. 'ALLIANCE' BRONZE.

is true, adds the name of the people of Halaesa (ΑΛΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ) to the 'alliance' inscription; but we have no reason to conclude therefore that all the others were also issued from Halaesa. The obverse types of these pieces are the heads of the Zeus of Freedom (ΖΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ), of Sicily (ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ, crowned with myrtle, Pl. XII. 22), and of Apollo the Leader (ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ, Fig. 54), under whose guidance the Greek colonies were planted in Sicily.

Closely allied to this group of coins is a mys-



FIG. 55. 'NEW' COINAGE: BRONZE.

terious piece (Fig. 55) with no inscription but ΚΑΙΝΟΝ ('new coin'); the types are a runaway horse (with loose rein) and a galloping griffin. No strong

reasons have been adduced in favour of any one place of mintage.

Of those bronze coins, struck by the members of what we may call Timoleon's league, which can be attributed to definite mints, there are a few whose attribution depends merely on their types. Such are the coins with a lyre on the reverse, and on the obverse either the head of Apollo (inscribed ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) or a female head (Fig. 56) crowned with

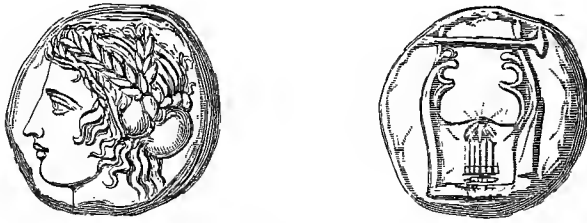


FIG. 56. HADRANUM: BRONZE.

myrtle, and probably meant for Sicily. They must belong to Hadranum (*Adernò*), as we may see from coins of that city which read ΑΔΡΑΝΙΤΑΝ. On these later inscribed coins we find the types of the head and lyre of Apollo, the head of Sicily and a sea-horse, as well as the head of the river-god Hadranus and a butting bull (Fig. 57). Another uninscribed coin, with a youthful laureate (male?) head, and a dolphin riding over waves, must be one of the earliest issues of the island of Lipara.

The attribution of other coins of this group is

more obvious than that of the earliest coins of Hadranum and Lipara. The pieces reading ΑΓΥ



FIG. 57. HADRANUM: BRONZE.

or ΑΓΥΡΙΑΙΩΝ belong to Agyrium (*Agira*). We find at this city the head of young Heracles wearing the lion's skin (Fig. 58), or the head of

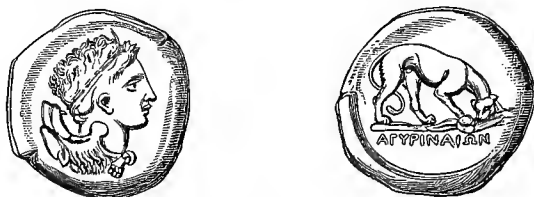


FIG. 58. AGYRIUM: BRONZE.

Apollo, combined respectively with a leopard tearing its prey, or a hound snuffing the scent; while the



FIG. 59. AGYRIUM: BRONZE.

head of the Zeus of Freedom (ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ), with his thunderbolt and eagle (Fig. 59), remind

us of the similar Syracusan coin (p. 151) and its connexion with Alexander of Epirus. Henna (*Castrogiovanni*) issues at this period, as in earlier days (p. 91), coins with types relating to Demeter, although the legend of the rape of her daughter, the Maiden-Goddess, which was of such importance locally, does not yet figure on the coins. The head of Demeter is inscribed ΔΑΜΑΤΗΡ or ΔΑΜΑΤ; the city name appears as ΕΝΝΑΙΩΝ variously abbreviated. One reverse type is a goat standing before the torch of Demeter, which is placed between two ears of barley, symbol of the corn-goddess. Another is the head of an ox arrayed with fillets for sacrifice to the same deity, as is shown by the barley-corn above it. A third consists simply of two barley-corns with the letters ΕΝ. The coins reading ΕΡΒΗΣΣΙΝΩΝ (with a female head, and the forepart of a human-headed bull) must belong to the eastern Herbessus (*Pantalica*?). A good head of Persephone, inspired by Euaenetus, but of rough work, and a leopard are the types of the coins of Centuripae (*Centorbi*), which are inscribed ΚΕΝΤΟΡΙΠΙΝΩΝ (Fig. 60). Morgantina has some interesting types. First comes a bronze coin with the head of Sicily on the obverse, and on the reverse the inscription ΜΟΡΓΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ and an eagle holding a serpent in its talons (Pl. XIII. 1). Its

occurrence at this time, while Herbessus also produces the type of an eagle with closed wings



FIG. 60. CENTURIPAE : BRONZE.

standing and looking back at a serpent, is to be connected with the story that before the battle on the Crimisus there appeared to the army of Timoleon the favourable omen of two eagles, one of which held a serpent in its talons. Another coin of Morgantina represents the head of Athena, with a serpent beside it, and a lion devouring the head of a stag, sometimes with a serpent between his feet. Yet another coin has a young laureate head and the tripod of Apollo (Pl. XIII. 3). Beside the head is written ΑΛΚΟΣ, the sense of which is obscure. Mytistratum (*Marianopoli*) has coins reading ΜΥΤΙ or VM; the obverses represent the fire-god Hephaestus, wearing the conical felt cap of the smith; on the reverses are six pellets in an olive-wreath, or a free horse, or three objects arranged like the spokes of a wheel around a pellet. Finally, coins reading ΣΙΑΕΡΑΙΩΝ (forepart of a bull and a warrior in the

attitude of attack) furnish proof of the existence of an otherwise unknown place called Silerae or Silera.

One of the most remarkable of the coins relating to Timoleon's work in Sicily is a unique silver drachm (Pl. XIII. 2) published by Mr. Evans. On the obverse is a female head, crowned with myrtle, and inscribed ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ('Concord'). On the reverse is a flaming altar adorned with laurel-branches, with the inscription ΚΙΜΙΣΣ. If the peculiar appearance of the M in this word is not merely due to a flaw, it may be explained as a monogram of P and M, so that we must read the word ΚΙΡΜΙΣΣ; and this again must be explained as an alternative form of ΚΡΙΜΙΣΣ. In any case there can be little doubt that the word is meant for the name of the river Crimisus, and that Mr. Evans is right in seeing in the Concord of the obverse an allusion to the union between the Sicilian cities. It is no mere coincidence that the head bears a strong resemblance to the head of 'Sicily.' The coin was possibly issued in common by some of the cities of western Sicily, among them Panormus, which in later times exhibits types of a similar kind. Mr. Evans is inclined to date the coin rather later than the life of Timoleon, 'to the close of the twenty years' peace that followed Timoleon's death in B.C. 336. But the character of the types still suggests a reference



to the peace and concord which he had founded.' Few if any of the coins of this Timoleonic group can have been issued after the rise of Agathocles, whose prosperity cast as severe a blight on the fortunes of the Sicilian cities as they had suffered from the power of Dionysius.

The insular position of Lipara probably allowed of its issuing coins with less restriction than places on the main island. We have already mentioned the uninscribed coins which belong to the Timoleonic period. Hardly later than these are certain small bronzes, among the types of which may be mentioned a bunch of grapes, and the conical cap of Hephaestus. The characteristic coins (Fig. 61)



FIG. 61. LIPARA: BRONZE

reading ΛΙΠΑΡΑΙΩΝ or ΛΙΠΑΡΑΙΩΝ, with a seated figure of the fire-god holding a hammer and a drinking-goblet, and a dolphin or else merely pellets indicating the value on the reverse, are rather later and probably extend over a considerable period. Towards the end of the fourth century

a couple of coins, reading ΛΙΓΑΡΑΙΟΝ on one side and ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ on the other, bear witness to an alliance between Lipara and Tyndaris. Later than these (about 288) must be the coins (Fig. 62) with a



FIG. 62. LIPARA: BRONZE.

laureate head of Ares (inspired by the similar Mamertine type) and a trident. From soon after this date until 252 Lipara was in the power of Carthage.

Three cities, Aetna, Entella, and Nacona, remain to be treated together during this period. Aetna, we remember, was the name given to Inessa by the Hieronians who were expelled from Catana in 461. A Campanian garrison, or rather population, was established in the town, early in the fourth century. It was about the time of Timoleon's arrival in the island, or a little earlier, that the Campanians struck the coins reading ΑΙΤΝΑΙΩΝ ('of the Aetnaeans'), with the free horse on the reverse, and the head either of Athena or of Persephone on the obverse. That the free horse, the symbol of liberty, should be used by this mercenary garrison, is not remarkable when we remember how the Mamertines a little later

adopted the Syracusan Zeus Hellanios for their own purposes at Messana. The adoption of types by the barbarians in Sicily (as indeed all over the world) is guided chiefly not by the meaning of the type, but by the credit belonging to it in international trade. In 339 Timoleon put an end to the Campanians in Aetna, and the result was that the city now produced the orthodox coin with the head of the Zeus of Freedom ( $\text{ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ}$ ) and his thunderbolt.

Entella (*Rocca d'Entella*) was occupied by Campanians in 404. In 342 Timoleon took the place, and put to death a few of the inhabitants, 'restoring their liberty to the rest.' The coins (Fig. 63) usually



FIG. 63. ENTELLA: BRONZE.

read  $\text{ΕΝΤΕΛΛΑΣ}$  ('of Entella') and  $\text{ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ}$  ('of the Campanians'), sometimes abbreviated. The types are the head of Persephone, a bearded helmeted warrior (the god Ares), or a helmet for the obverse, and a Pegasus or a free horse for the reverse. As almost all the coins bear the name of the Campanians, we may assume that Timoleon in

restoring freedom to the people did not find it necessary to annihilate the Italian mercenaries.

Yet another city occupied by the Campanians was Nacona, the site of which is quite uncertain. Bronze coins with the head of Persephone, crowned with barley, read  $\kappa\text{ΑΜΓΑΝΩΝ}$  on the obverse, and on the reverse  $\text{ΝΑ}[κ\text{ΩΝΗ}]Σ$  (with a Pegasus) or  $\text{ΝΑκ\text{ΩΝΑΙΩΝ}}$  (with a free horse).

In this group too we may place a coin issued by the Tyrrhenians, evidently like the Campanians a community from the other side of the Straits of Messina. The types are a helmeted head (Ares? or Athena?) and a standing figure of Athena, facing, her left hand resting on her shield—warlike types suitable to a settlement of mercenaries. The inscription is  $\text{ΤΥΡΡΗ}$ .

Finally, a monogram which has been variously resolved is found on a silver obol with free horse



and olive-wreath (Fig. 64)

and on a bronze litra (struck on a Syracusan

FIG. 64. CAMPANIANS (?): LITRA.

blank) with a butting

bull and a star of sixteen rays (Fig. 65). It also occurs on a smaller bronze with a helmet. The now prevailing view is that the monogram represents  $\kappa\text{ΑΜ}$ , and that the Campanians in Sicily were responsible for the coins. It is perhaps worth sug-

gesting that a possible resolution of the monogram is MAT, and that the coins may belong to a city

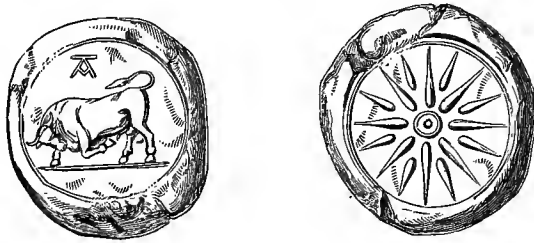


FIG. 65. CAMPANIANS(?): BRONZE LITRA.

Mataurus, which Stephen of Byzantium states to have been a foundation of the Locrians and the birth-place of the poet Stesichorus. The bull (*tauros*) would then be, as at Tauromenium, a canting type, and would at the same time represent the river which the geographer Strabo describes as flowing underground near the city in question.

## CHAPTER V

### FROM HIERO II TO TIBERIUS

WE come now to that phase of Sicilian, and more especially Syracusan, coinage, which preceded the constitution of the Roman Province. The greater part of the time is filled by the reign of Hiero II. The chief interest of the coins of this ruler, it will hardly be denied, lies in the fact that some of them give portraits of himself and his family—a new feature in the history of Sicilian coinage, and one that only became common in the Greek world in the course of the third century.

Hiero's gold coins, in accordance with the conservatism which somewhat naturally clings round the treatment of the most precious of the metals, do not bear any portrait: for the male laureate head on a unique coin at Munich is presumably no portrait, but a descendant of the head of Apollo or Ares on the coins of Agathocles. This coin is a 120-litrae piece. Its half is represented by the commoner coin (Pl. XIII). 4 with the head of

Persephone, and a two-horse chariot driven by a female figure, the latter being also the reverse type of the larger coin. Sometimes a winged Victory replaces the wingless female charioteer. All are inscribed  $\text{IEP}\Omega\text{N}\Omega\text{Σ}$  ('coin of Hiero').

His first silver coins (Fig. 66) are also without



FIG. 66. SYRACUSE : 'PEGASUS' OF HIERO II.

portraits. They are the descendants of the earliest Syracusan pegasi, through the degenerate pegasi of about 108 grains issued by Agathocles, and themselves weigh no more than 90 grains—a weight which we have already found under Pyrrhus. They are somewhat rare, and cannot therefore have been issued in any great numbers, being superseded by the more interesting silver coins to which we now come. The issue of the latter probably began soon after the assumption of the royal title by Hiero in 269; for those which bear Hiero's name add to it the title  $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$ . As regards weight, they show a definite break with the Attic tradition. We have pieces of litrae 32, 20 (or 18), 16, 8, 5, 4, 2, 1. Of these only the 5-litrae piece and the litra are con-

formable to the old system. On the other hand, since the litra weighed  $13\frac{1}{2}$  grains troy, the 4-litrae piece of 54 grains would be nearly the equivalent of the drachm of what was known as the Phoenician system, on which were issued the coins of the Ptolemies and also of the Carthaginians—for this people, after they ceased to strike what are known as Siculo-Punic coins, began to produce a rich series of gold, electrum and silver money. The last metal, however, was hardly issued by the Carthaginians until after the acquisition of the Spanish silver-mines about the middle of the century; so that we must attribute the monetary reform of Hiero chiefly to his friendly relations with Egypt. The series of Hieronian coins, regarded from the point of view of the Phoenician standard, would be pieces of 8, 5, 4, 2, 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  drachms (if we exclude the anomalous 5-litrae piece, and regard that which weighs 243 grains as the equivalent of 20 litrae). Another *rapprochement* may also be taken into account. In 268 the Romans issued their first denarii, quinarii and sestertii. We can see nothing in the Hieronian coins which can indicate an attempt to connect his standard with that of the Roman denarius. But about forty years later the Romans struck, for the purposes of their foreign trade, a coin known as the *victoriatius* (types: head of Jupiter, and Victory



crowning a trophy). The normal weight of that coin was about  $52\frac{1}{2}$  grains troy, three-quarters of a denarius, or 3 scruples; and with it were issued its double and half. There may be some reason therefore for thinking that the weight of the Roman victoriatus was partly determined by the fact that, while a multiple of the Roman scruple, it was nearly equivalent to the Hieronian 4-litrae piece. The last-mentioned coin of 54 grains was thus a little heavier than the victoriatus, as it was a little lighter than the Phoenician drachm. It is true that the victoriatus was chiefly used for trade with northern Greece, but it can hardly have been limited to that direction. The Hieronian standard—as befits the position of Sicily—marks a point half-way between Rome and the Phoenicians of Carthage.

The large pieces of 32 litrae (Pl. XIII. 5) are inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΞΕΡΩΝΟΣ, and have a fine, expressive portrait of the king, his head bound with the royal diadem. There is some variety in the portrait, showing that we have not a mere stereotyped court-engraver's representation. Some, which must belong to the earlier part of the long reign, show distinctly softer features than others in which all the lines are hardened. When we look into the workmanship of the coin, we find that it will not

bear comparison with the work of the great engravers. Although this fact may not strike us while we consider only the portraits, it becomes obvious when we turn to the reverse. The chariôt driven by Victory offers no novelty, nor any distinctive feature in its treatment, nor can it be said to be skilfully treated even from an academic point of view. No one who is familiar with earlier representations of the same subject will care to linger over this.

Hiero's Queen is known to us from the coins of 16 and 5 litrae, as well as from one enigmatic piece, apparently of 18 litrae, but possibly an underweighted 20-litrae piece. Her name was Philistis (ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ, 'of Queen Philistis,' is the legend on her coins). The larger coins (Pl. XIII. 7), with her portrait wearing an ample veil, are numerous, and, to judge by the number of specimens (frequently false) brought away from Sicily by tourists, enjoy considerable popularity. The appreciation of the art of Greek coins proceeds by the same stages as that of any other school of art: it is the later phases, with a certain show of modernity, and comparatively little sincerity of treatment, which are first admired; while the nobler productions of the fine period are only understood when the eye has been educated by and has tired of the work of the 'decline.' The head of Philistis

soon ceases to please, and its glaring defects—the careless treatment of lips, eyes, and nose, and the hard folds of the veil—become more and more apparent every time the coin is examined.

The head of Philistis on the coins of 5 litrae sins on a smaller scale. The reverse type of these coins is a two-horse chariot driven by Victory (Pl. XIII. 6).

A third member of Hiero's family appears on the coins of 8 litrae and of 4 litrae. This is his son Gelo, who is represented as associated with his father in the kingship. The head on the obverse of these coins (Pl. XIII. 8) has, it is true, been interpreted by some writers as an ideal representation of the elder Gelo, the victor of Himera and first tyrant; but this view is untenable. Gelo, who bears a distinct likeness to his father, but also, in some of the portraits, an even greater likeness to his mother, wears the royal diadem. On the reverse of the 8-litrae piece is the usual two-horse chariot, driven by Victory; on the reverse of the smaller coin (Pl. XIII. 9) is the Ptolemaic eagle standing on a thunderbolt. In the field of the reverse (sometimes accompanied by other letters, the signature of the moneyer) is BA (for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ). This shows, like the diadem, that Gelo is regarded as king with his father, and accords with inscrip-

tions found at Syracuse which mention the name of 'King Gelo son of King Hiero,' and of 'Queen Nereis' (wife of Gelo) along with 'Queen Philistis' and 'King Hiero.' The inscription on the coins is somewhat unusual: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ— 'the Syracusans . . . of Gelo.' Holm supplies 'dedicated this portrait.' But, in accordance with the usage of later coin-inscriptions, it would perhaps be better to supply 'dedicated this coin.' The word 'dedicated' (ἀνέθηκε) is constantly used when a prominent personage defrays the expenses of a coinage; it is followed by the name of the people, usually in the dative, but sometimes in the genitive. Here we have a coin of Gelo 'dedicated' by the Syracusans. The point of this subtilty becomes clear in the light of Holm's remark that Hiero 'distributed the honours of the coinage over his family and the people.'

Two odd little coins are the silver litrae with the legends ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ XII or ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ XII, and a diademed head, probably that of Gelo. These inscriptions show that the silver litra was at any rate nominally the equivalent of twelve copper litrae; the form of the numerals also shows the increasing influence of Rome.

The bronze coins of this reign all read simply ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ, except one small group which, having

ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ on the obverse (head of Persephone), has the king's name shortened to IE on the reverse (Pl. XIII. 10; butting bull and club). The portrait of Hiero occurs, sometimes laureate (Pl. XIII. 11), more often diademed. These heads with the laurel wreath are perhaps the first instance of the use of that form of crown for a human ruler; reserved up till then almost exclusively for the gods, it was perhaps not approved by Hiero's subjects, for it only occurs on a few of his coins. One of the commonest of all Sicilian coins is the bronze bearing the head of Poseidon on the obverse, and his trident on the reverse, with IEPΩΝΟΣ across the field (Pl. XIII. 12). Enormous quantities of this coin must have been struck, to judge by the numbers found in modern times.

Before we pass on to the coinage of Hieronymus, we must describe a group of gold and silver coins with the legend ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ—'of the Siceliotes.' They are a gold piece of  $67\frac{1}{2}$  grains (equivalent at the rate then prevailing to 60 silver litrae) and silver pieces of 8 (Pl. XIII. 13), 4, and 2 litrae. The type of the obverse is a veiled head of Demeter, or perhaps of Philistis veiled, and crowned with barley, in the guise of Demeter. The reverse types are a two-horse chariot and a four-horse chariot for the gold and silver respectively. Finally, all have a

monogram which has been resolved into the letters TM, or ΙΣ, but in neither case with much probability; for in the former the monogram lies on its side, while in the latter no account is taken of a bar joining the Ι to the Σ. Whatever be the interpretation of the monogram (and this we shall not attempt to decide) there can be no doubt that the coins belong to the time of Hiero, and that they were issued by or for a group of the Greek as opposed to the Carthaginian cities—the legend tells us as much. In all probability, therefore, they formed the currency of Hiero's dominions outside Syracuse after the settlement at the end of the first Punic War.

The unhappy successor of Hiero, his grandson Hieronymus, is represented by a good number of coins in all three metals. They uniformly read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ and have for reverse type a winged thunderbolt. The head of Persephone, with long hair, is the obverse type of the gold coins. These comprise in the first place a unique piece of the same weight as Hiero's gold coin with a similar obverse type, and as the gold 'Siceliote' coin, and secondly, pieces (Pl. XIII. 14) of half that weight; being thus equivalent to 60 and 30 silver litrae respectively. The silver coins (Pl. XIII. 15) represent 24, 10, 6, and 5 litrae;

and the obverse type of them all, as well as of the bronze, is a diademed head of the young king. It would be difficult to find among the portraits on Greek coins one which accords more fully than this with the character of Hieronymus, as it has come down to us. The nobility and keenness of character expressed in the head of Hiero, and to a less extent in that of Gelo, are replaced by a sensuality and weakness of features which fully justify a belief in many of the stories told to the discredit of their owner.

Coins in all three metals are ascribed to the short but stormy period between the fall of Hieronymus (214) and the final submission of Syracuse to Rome. A gold piece of 60 litrae (67½ grains) has a female head (probably of Hera) wearing a stephanos or broad metal diadem ornamented with flowers, and on the reverse a four-horse chariot. In the Paris example (Pl. XIII. 16) the die of the reverse has slipped and restruck the blank in such a way that there appear to be no less than seven horses. The coin of 40 litrae (45 grains) has the head of Athena, and a new reverse type:—the goddess Artemis as huntress, seen nearly from behind, discharging an arrow from her bow (Pl. XIII. 18). She wears hunting-boots, and a short chiton with girdle, and her quiver hangs at her back. In silver we have a

great variety of types. The 16-litrae piece (Fig. 67) has a laureate head of Zeus, and Victory in a galloping four-horse chariot. The types of the 12-litrae



FIG. 67. SYRACUSE: 16 LITRAE.

piece are a head of Athena and a figure of the huntress Artemis, as on the 40-litrae gold piece. The 10-litrae piece (Fig. 68) has a head of Persephone

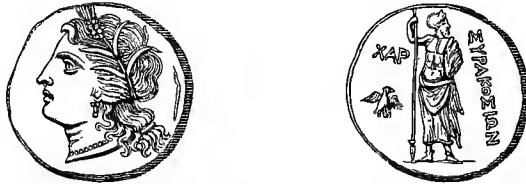


FIG. 68. SYRACUSE: 10 LITRAE.

with long hair, and a standing figure of Zeus (perhaps the Zeus Ourios who was specially honoured in Syracuse), with his eagle flying. Then come pieces of 8 litrae, with a head of Athena and winged thunderbolt, or with a head of Persephone (inspired by the head designed by Euaenetus, and not by the type with which since the time of Agathocles we have become familiar) and Victory driving a galloping four-horse chariot (Pl. XIII. 17). On the





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6-litrae piece the bearded head of Heracles, in lion's skin (reverse, Victory in two-horse chariot), is a good specimen of the treatment of the demi-god in this period of art (Pl. XIII. 19); we are on the verge of the brutality of the Roman type.

The coin of 4 litrae (Pl. XIV. 2) has a long-haired head of Apollo, and Victory carrying trophy and palm. All these coins, both gold and silver, bear the name of the people in the genitive, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; and we shall find the same form on the bronze. Most of the coins are also inscribed with the abbreviated names of officials responsible for the issue of the money. A small group of silver coins is distinguished by the nominative form ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. These are, in the first place, a piece of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  litrae: obverse, head of Apollo; reverse (Pl. XIV. 3), a figure, perhaps of the Fortune of the City, her veil blown out by the breeze, holding a branch and a roll on which an inscription is suggested by dots. Next, the  $1\frac{1}{4}$  litra (Pl. XIV. 5) has the head of Artemis and the owl of Athena. Last comes a litra with the head of Athena, and the inscription ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ·ΧΙΙΙ, which implies that the silver litra was now worth  $13\frac{1}{4}$  copper litrae, instead of 12 as formerly. The use of the nominative may have been suggested by its use on the coins of Gelo the younger, but it is difficult to see how it can be

regarded, as Holm regards it, in the light of a protest against the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ.

Among the few types of the bronze of this period, we need only mention the head of Poseidon, with trident between dolphins—a survival from the coins of Hiero; and the Dioscuri on horseback.

Before we proceed to describe the coinage of Syracuse in the Roman period, we shall bring the history of the other Sicilian cities down to the date at which they too fell into the hands of Rome. Here we have to do with but three cities in Sicily—Acragas, Tauromenium, and Tyndaris—and with the island of Lipara. Of these the first was pro-Carthaginian during the greater part of the time concerned. The head of Zeus, and his eagle with spread wings (Fig. 69) are the types of the two larger silver coins

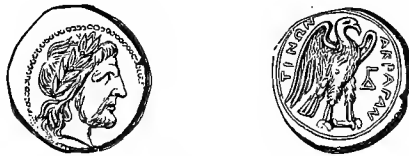


FIG. 69. ACRAGAS: 4 LITRAE.

(4 and 2 litrae); a third, the litra, has the head of Zeus and his thunderbolt. On a bronze which reproduces the familiar two eagles on a hare, we find a head of Apollo (Pl. XIV. 4) combined in a curious way with what appears to be a serpent partly hidden beside the face. Mr. Head has drawn

attention to the fact that there was in the temple of Asklepios at Acragas a statue of Apollo by the sculptor Myron, and thus explains the connexion between Apollo and the serpent sacred to the god of healing. It is possible, however, that we have here a head not of Apollo, but of Asklepios himself, represented, as he sometimes was in Greek art, in youthful form. On another bronze of the same period (Fig. 70) we have the beardless head of another god, who is (as the ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ and



FIG. 70. ACRAGAS: BRONZE.

eagle of the reverse suggest) Zeus the Saviour. The independent coinage of Acragas ends with its capture by the Romans in 261.

The earliest coins of Tauromenium in this period are of bronze (Pl. XIV. 1) and still have the head of Apollo the Leader (ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ); on the reverse we find a lyre, a tripod, or a bunch of grapes. These are followed by a coinage in all three metals (Pl. XIV. 6 foll.), which, as Holm has seen, is rather too plentiful to have been struck in the short period between the death of Hiero and the constitution of the province, and therefore points to the compara-

tive independence of Tauromenium during the reign of the good king of Syracuse. The head of Apollo and his tripod are throughout the favourite types. On one of the bronzes, the god's name ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ is written beside his tripod. Of the other types, the most remarkable is perhaps the Delphic omphalos, with the sacred snake twining round it, on a silver coin with a head of Apollo on the obverse (Pl. XIV. 7). We find also the head of Athena, with a Pegasus on the reverse, both on silver and on bronze. The head of a bull seen from the front, and a bunch of grapes, which occur on a silver litra (Pl. XIV. 9), are Dionysiac types; on bronzes we find a head of Dionysus, combined with either a bull, or a standing figure of Dionysus (or one of his attendant Maenads) with a panther. A bearded head of Heracles (Pl. XIV. 10) is also combined with a butting bull. In all cases of the appearance of a bull on these pieces, we must remember that, in addition to any Dionysiac significance it may possess, it is also the 'canting' emblem of the city.

A small group of coins (silver and bronze) representing a female head (Hera?) wearing a stephanos, with a bunch of grapes on the reverse, appears to bear on the obverse the enigmatic inscription ΣΑΡΔΩΝΙ. There is a general agreement among numis-



matists to connect this coin, however hesitatingly, with Tauromenium. But it can hardly belong to the ordinary coinage of that city. One suggestion is that it was struck at that mint for the Sardinians; in which case we may explain the obverse type as the personification of their island. The dative  $\Sigma\text{AP}\Delta\Omega\text{I}$  would then express the fact that the coin was dedicated to Sardus, son of Maceris or Heracles, and legendary founder of the Greek colony in Sardinia. On this hypothesis, however, inscription and type refer to two different persons; and though such a lack of connexion is not impossible, it is best to leave the question open.

The coinage of Tyndaris, which had doubtless come to an end in the time of Agathocles, was resumed during the reign of Hiero, probably after the capture of Panormus by the Romans in 254. The new coinage is all of bronze. A veiled female head, wearing a stephane or a laurel-wreath, and sometimes accompanied by a star, is without doubt Helen (Pl. XIV. 11). The majority of the types, as in the earlier period, belong to her brothers the Dioscuri: thus we have them on horseback, charging; or standing, each holding a horse by the bridle; or standing, without horses; or merely their conical helmets, each surmounted by a star (Pl. XIV. 11). Other types belong to Zeus: we

have his head, laureate; his standing figure, holding sceptre and thunderbolt; his eagle on a thunderbolt; or a thunderbolt alone. A figure of the god Hermes sacrificing is generally supposed to represent a beautiful statue of the god, which the Carthaginians carried off to Africa, and which Scipio restored to its home. As it must have been carried off before 254, and the restoration of these works of art took place in 146, the type, if it was issued at the time to which it is usually assigned, may really represent only a copy of the original statue made to take its place; or it may be merely a memorial of the treasure which Tyndaris had once possessed. Of the other types of Tyndaris the most interesting is a little winged bust of Eros. This varied bronze coinage is generally supposed to have come to an end in 210, when Laevinus brought the war in Sicily to its conclusion, and reorganized the island as a Roman province. But may we not argue from the Hermes type described above that the lower limit assigned to these coins of Tyndaris is too high, and that some of them belong to the period after the fall of Carthage? We shall be confronted with a similar question at Thermae.

Lipara fell into the hands of Rome in 252. The coins which it now issued are more striking than

artistic. In the case of the chief series, the head of the fire-god Hephaestus wearing his pilos or workman's cap is the type of all the obverses. On the reverse of the largest coin (Fig. 71) is the stern of



FIG. 71. LIPARA : BRONZE SEMIS.

a galley, with the inscription ΛΙΓΑΡΑΙΟΝ. The value (half a litra) is expressed by six pellets. The smaller coins have merely marks of value and the inscription (abbreviated on the two-ounce piece to ΛΙΓ, on the ounce to ΛΙ). The weights of these pieces, compared with those of Roman coins, show that they belong to the period ending in 217. To the same period belongs a coin with the head of Athena in an Athenian helmet, and an owl,—which should be compared with a piece struck at the not far distant city of Calacte (p. 221).

We now return to the coins issued at Syracuse and other cities under the Roman dominion. This period begins in 241 for western Sicily, in 212 for Syracuse itself, and closes with the reign of

Tiberius. All the local coins which we shall henceforward meet with are of bronze. There are, however, a certain number of coins, issued by Roman officials in Sicily, which really belong to the Roman series; and to these the restriction of metals does not apply.

The coinage of Sicily under Roman rule does not seem in any way to be affected by the political classification of the cities, and we shall find it more instructive to deal with the various communities in the order in which the importance of their coinage seems to suggest that they should be placed.

The types of the coins of this period are numerous, but the badness of their style destroys a great deal of their interest. For the same reason, added to the poorness of their preservation, it is difficult to find specimens which will repay illustration.

At Syracuse, the appearance of the Egyptian deities Sarapis and Isis is characteristic of the new age. The image of Isis, holding a flaming torch, stands in a chariot drawn by four horses—a representation of a festival in which the image of the goddess was drawn about the city. Other coins show the head of Sarapis, the figure of Isis standing, holding her sistrum, the head of Isis, or even her headdress of disc and horns. Numerous other

deities are represented: the head of Zeus, and his eagle on a thunderbolt; Victory in a two-horse chariot, or sacrificing a bull; the head of Athena; of Persephone; of Demeter, veiled; of Apollo; of the sun-god Helios, with a crown of rays; of the Roman double-faced god Janus; of Asklepios; of Artemis. The two crossed torches are the symbol of Demeter; the staff, with a serpent twining round it, of Asklepios.

Next to Syracuse, the three cities of Catana, Leontini, and Panormus are most important so far as concerns the coinage of this time; and an abundant coinage in a province subject to Rome may be taken as a fairly certain criterion of commercial activity, though not necessarily of political rank.

Catana, which had all but disappeared from history since its subjection to Dionysius, is represented under the Romans by a plentiful bronze currency. Here too we see the influence of the Egyptian cults, in types such as the heads of Sarapis and Isis conjoined (Pl. XIV. 13), a janiform head of Sarapis (Pl. XIV. 12), a figure of Isis, sometimes accompanied by Harpocrates. But the most interesting types of the city, and indeed of all Sicily in this somewhat wearisome period, refer to the brothers Amphinomus and Anapias, who were worshipped as heroes at Catana. The story of how these brothers

saved their parents when the volcano poured out its lava on the devoted town, and how the burning stream miraculously parted to give them passage, is well known. On the coins we have the two brothers carrying their parents, *sudantes venerando pondere* (Pl. XIV. 16). A similar type occurs on silver denarii (Pl. XV. 9) issued by Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, and perhaps actually struck in Catana itself, during the period when the son of the great Pompeius held the island (42-36 B. C.). The original of these representations was doubtless the group of statues which existed at Catana, and has been described by Claudian. Another type, which is of some interest as showing the gradual intrusion of Roman ideas into the Greek life, is the figure of Equity (*Aequitas*), holding a pair of scales and a cornucopiae (Pl. XIV. 14). On the obverse of the same coin is a head of Zeus Ammon, the oracular god of the Libyan oasis, who is represented with ram's horns—another trace of Egyptian influence (Pl. XIV. 14).

The date of the cessation of the Catanaean coinage is a disputed point. Mr. Head sees no proof that it lasted longer than the beginning of the first century B. C.; Holm points to the type of *Aequitas* (so common on Roman coins after about the middle of the first century of our era), as a sign of late date,

and supposes that the Catanaean coinage lasted longer into the Empire than that of any other Sicilian city; just as Catana was the most important, if not the only mint of Byzantine Sicily. But if he is right, it is surprising that the coins of this city, which received a Roman colony in the reign of Augustus, show no Latin inscriptions.

Leontini, after a history very much like that of Catana, reappears in the Roman period with a considerable bronze coinage. Here we have chiefly types relating to Demeter and the agricultural pursuits over which she presided: the goddess standing, holding ears of corn and a torch; her head veiled; a plough with a bird perched on it. But Apollo is also well represented by his head, which appears on numerous varieties; and the other old 'canting' type, the lion, is not absent. The most remarkable type, however, is a nude figure of a river-god (Pl. XIV. 15) seated on rocks, holding a cornucopiae and a branch, with a crab in the field. On the obverse of this coin the bust of Demeter is represented facing, with the leaves of the cornwreath radiating from her head, and a small plough at the side (Pl. XIV. 15).

From 254 onwards Panormus has a plentiful though not very interesting coinage. The earlier issues are inscribed ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ. Among the

types are the triskeles with a Gorgon's head in the middle—a 'contamination' of triskeles and aegis of Agathoclean origin (see p. 155). The head of Concord (ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ) is combined with an altar, as on the 'alliance' coin of the Crimissus issued in the fourth century, or with a cornucopiae. The ram which is represented sometimes alone, sometimes with a head of Janus beneath it, is probably the symbol of the god Hermes, who himself is figured seated on a rock. Some of the coins, instead of the full name of the people, have simply a monogram or group of letters which must be resolved into ΠΑΡ, i.e. ΠΑΝΟΡ[ΜΙΤΑΝ]. The names of Roman officials first appear on the coins of Panormus in a highly abbreviated form: for instance, M. AVR(elius), L. ME. (L. Caecilius Metellus, perhaps the successor of Verres), CATO (perhaps the famous M. Porcius Cato of Utica). We may call these pieces coins of Panormus, but must remember that in all probability they were really struck for circulation throughout the whole island in one of its most important places. Most of these issues with names of Roman officials and the monogram of ΠΑΡ have as their types the head of Zeus and a standing figure of the god Mars, holding a libation-bowl in his left hand. A variation in the monogram is the form which must be resolved into



ΠOR (the older form of the Latin P differed little from the Greek). This has been explained by Mommsen as the abbreviation of *Por(tus)*; Holm rightly recognizes that it may as well stand for *P(an)or(mus)*.

In Panormus also Roman coins were possibly issued by L. Sempronius Atratinus and M. Oppius Capito, who were prefects of the fleet for Marcus Antonius between 39 and 35 B.C.; but this is a matter of considerable uncertainty. Finally we come to coins of the Imperial period. On a piece with the Greek inscription ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ the head of Augustus is combined with the type (now familiar as the emblem of Sicily) of a triskeles having the Gorgon's head in the centre and ears of corn between the legs. It was presumably in the time of Augustus that Panormus received a Roman colony with the title 'Colonia Augusta Panhormitanorum.' Another coin of Augustus has on the obverse his head with the Latin inscription PANORMITANORV(m), and on the reverse the head of Livia with the inscription AVGVS. If we interpret this last word as *Augusta*, applying it to Livia, then, since Livia did not receive that title until after the death of her husband, this coin must have been struck in the reign of Tiberius. But it is just possible that the word contains the title of the

newly founded colony. Of coins certainly struck after the death of Augustus, one represents him with a radiate crown, a thunderbolt before his face; on the reverse is a capricorn (the sign of his conception) and below it the triskeles with Gorgon's head and ears of corn (Pl. XIV. 17). The coin also bears the names of the two chief magistrates (Duumviri) of the colony, Cneius Domitius Proculus and Laetorius, in the form CN. DOM. PROC. LAETOR IIVIR.

The coinage of the other Sicilian communities comes far behind that which we have just dealt with in quantity. At Acragas the cult of Asklepios, of which we have already spoken, seems to gain in importance, if we may judge from the coins. Thus we now have the figure of the god standing to front, his head laureate; or he is represented by his snake-encircled staff alone. Further, we have the name of one of the state officials ΑΣΚΛΑΠΟΣ. As it is written against a head of Persephone, this cannot be meant for the name of the god (Ἀσκληπιός), but, like ΚΝΙΟΟΣ on another specimen, must be the signature of the monetary magistrate. Still the occurrence of the name is some slight evidence of the importance of the cult. In the time of Augustus, although we still find the Greek inscription, the Latin form of the city-name also occurs. Thus a

coin with the head of Augustus is inscribed AVGVS. P.P. (*i.e.* Augustus Pater Patriae) AGRIGENTIN. On the reverse is a long inscription,—SALASSO COMI-



FIG. 72. AGRIGENTUM: BRONZE OF AUGUSTUS.

TIALE SEX. RVFO IIVIR., and L. CLODIO RVFO PRO COS.,—which is to be interpreted: in the duumvirate of Salassus Comitialis and Sextus Rufus, and the proconsulship of Lucius Clodius Rufus.

Halaesa (one of the 'free and exempt' states) strikes coins with the Greek inscription ΑΛΑΙΣΑΣ ΑΡΧ. The second word is the abbreviation of ΑΡΧΩΝΙΔΕΙΑΣ, Archonides, a contemporary of Dionysius I, having founded the city. The types are mostly Apolline (head or figure of the god, lyre, tripod). These Greek coins are succeeded by coins with Latin inscriptions, reading HALAESA ARCHONIDA in variously abbreviated forms, and bearing also the names of Roman magistrates.

Lilybaeum, the successor of Motya, and the forerunner of Marsala, although founded as early as 396, struck no coins that can be attributed to it earlier than the Roman period. It then begins with Apol-

line types (head of Apollo and tripod, or lyre). The name of the people takes the form ΛΙΛΥΒΑΙΙΤΑΝ. Coins with Greek inscriptions were also issued here in the time of Atratinus, the officer of Marcus Antonius; for one coin (Pl. XIV. 18) bears the inscription ΑΤΡΑΤΙΝΟ(Υ) ΠΥΘΙΩΝ on the reverse. Pythion is the name of the magistrate or wealthy citizen who defrayed the cost of the coinage,—a fact expressed by the dative form ΛΙΛΥΒΑΙΙΤΑΙΣ on the obverse: Pythion 'dedicated' the coin to the citizens of Lilybaeum. The obverse type is a veiled female head wearing a small mural crown—the personification of the city. The head is enclosed in a triangular frame, which gives the whole a curiously modern appearance, as though it were a coat of arms (Pl. XIV. 18). The reverse design is the Pythian tripod with a serpent twining round it—an obvious allusion to the name of Pythion, but at the same time, as an Apolline symbol, in keeping with the rest of the coin-types of the city.

The latest coins of Lilybaeum belong to the time of the Emperor Augustus. In addition to a coin bearing his image and superscription CAESAR AVGVSTVS, and a laureate head of Apollo with the name of the proconsul Quintus Terentius Culleo (Q. TERENCE CVLLEONE PRO COS. LILYB.), we have coins bearing AVGV. in a laurel-wreath on the ob-

verse and a lyre with LILYBIT. on the reverse. We must either (with Mommsen) expand this into AVGV(*stanorum*) LILYBIT(*anorum*), or regard the former word as the abbreviation of *Augustus*, whose name, on his own Roman coins, is not infrequently placed in a laurel-wreath.

While we are at Lilybaeum, we may deal with the two neighbouring cities of Eryx and Segesta. The former is represented by coins with the head of Aphrodite, and Heracles resting on his club (EPYKINΩN). The latter has a more varied coinage. The most interesting type is Aeneas carrying his father Anchises from the ruins of Troy. The obverse of this coin represents the city in the usual way—a veiled and turret-crowned female head. The Aeneas-type occurs also on a coin with the head of Augustus; Aeneas carries the Palladium as well as his father; above him is a crescent moon, and behind him an eagle. The type is of course inspired by the tradition which assigned the foundation of Segesta to fugitives from Troy, and of which Vergil made use in the fifth book of the Aeneid. Both forms ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ and ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ occur on coins of this period.

We know from Cicero's accusation of Verres that the Demeter (Ceres) of Henna was regarded by the Romans as 'the oldest Ceres'; that the shameless

praetor brought away from this most sacred spot the oldest and most precious of the statues of the goddess, a bronze image holding torches; and that he would also have brought away the figures of Ceres and Triptolemus which stood before the temple, had they not been so heavy that he had to content himself with the figure of Victory which Ceres held in her hand. Unfortunately, the coins of Henna are as a rule ill preserved, but they show a female figure holding in her left arm a small figure carrying a torch, and in her right hand another torch—apparently the Ceres-statue described by Cicero. We find also a youthful male figure holding a spear or sceptre. The reverse of this last coin shows two winged snakes drawing a plough. In the light of Greek vase paintings which represent the inventor of the plough, sometimes holding a sceptre, in a car drawn by serpents, which are often winged, no one will hesitate to recognize Triptolemus in the youthful figure of our coin.

The later coins of Henna show that it had the position of a *municipium*, since the coins with Latin inscriptions give the name as MVN. HENNAE or MVN. HENNA. The duumviri of the place are M. CESTIVS and L. MVNATIVS. The most interesting type of this group of coins represents Hades standing in

a chariot drawn by four galloping horses, his mantle inflated by the wind, and carrying Persephone in his arm.

If the current view that the Greek coinage of Tyndaris came to an end in 210 is correct, the place must have been without a new coinage until towards the close of our period. In the time of Augustus it struck coins with the name of the proconsul L. Mussidius (L. MVSSIDI PROCOS). The local duumvirs sign other coins, and we also find the expression EX. D. D. (*ex decreto decurionum*), corresponding to the EX. S. C. (*ex Senatus consulto*) of Roman coins. This shows that the coins were struck by order of the city council (*ordo decurionum*). The types of Tyndaris in this period still refer mainly to the Dioscuri.

From Tyndaris we may cross the sea to Lipara. The types of the coins issued after 217 are still mainly Hephaestean, but now the god is represented as a youth. We find him standing, swinging his



FIG. 73. LIPARA: BRONZE.

hammer as he strides along (Fig. 73), or sitting; sometimes we have only his head, or his cap, or

his tongs. Next in importance to Hephaestus are the maritime types: head of Poseidon (?), dolphin, prow. The coins of this period read ΛΙΓΓΑΡΑΙΩΝ. To the last epoch of the coinage of this little island belong coins issued by the duumviri of the community, who express themselves clumsily enough in Greek: Γ. ΜΑΡΚΙΟΣ ΛΕ. Γ. ΑΣΩΝΕΥΣ ΔΥΟ ΑΝΔΡ. *i.e.* Gaius Marcius (son of) Lucius and Gaius Aso-neus (?), duumviri.

To return to the main island.

At Cephaloedium the form of the inscription, when it is written in full, is the genitive singular of the city-name ΚΕΦΑΛΟΙΔΙΟΥ. Holm pertinently remarks that the citizens themselves were probably not called 'inhabitants of Cephaloedium,' whatever form the Greek ethnic adjective might take, but Heracleotes, as we find them named on the earlier



FIG. 74. CEPHALOEDIUM: BRONZE.

coins already described (p. 137<sup>1</sup>). The types are nearly all connected with Heracles (e.g. Fig. 74,

<sup>1</sup> The truth of this remark is unaffected by the possibility that the earlier coins may have been struck not at Cephaloedium itself, but elsewhere.



his head, and his lion's skin, club and bow and quiver). The duumvir C. CANINIVS signs the only coin of the town which shows a Latin inscription, and even on this the name of the place is given in Greek: ΚΕΦΑ.

The city of the Mamertines was one of the three *civitates foederatae* (Neetum, of which no coins are known, and Tauromenium being the others). The coins of the Mamertines (all inscribed ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ) in the Roman period are distinguished from the previous issues by (among other points) their marks of value. The earliest is probably the sixth of the litra, or hexas, marked by two pellets, since the litra contained twelve ounces. Its types are a young head of Ares (ΑΡΕΟΣ) and an armed Athena. To another issue belong the five-ounce pieces (*pentonkia*) which are marked with a □ (Pl. XIV. 19); and to yet another a group of which the largest coin is a half-litra, marked with six pellets. Messina in the earliest period of its numismatic history showed, as we have seen, a connexion with the currency on the Italian side of the Straits; and this, its last coinage, belongs to the same system as does that of Rhegium.

Thermae had ceased to coin early in the fourth century, as a natural consequence of its proximity to the great Carthaginian stronghold. Set free from

this restraint, it produced under the Romans a small but interesting coinage. After the destruction of Carthage in 146 Scipio restored to Thermae certain bronze statues which the Carthaginians had carried off. These were a figure of the city of Himera as a woman, a statue of the poet Stesichorus as a bent old man reading a book, and a cleverly and gracefully modelled she-goat. It is pleasant to find that, on four out of five varieties of coins issued by Thermae, these sculptures are represented, although the bad preservation of most of the specimens makes illustration practically useless. On the reverse of coins with the head of Heracles we have either three female figures, the one in the centre being veiled and wearing the city-crown, or else a single figure veiled and wearing the city-crown, holding a libation-bowl and a cornucopiae. On another we have a veiled female head, and a she-goat recumbent. Finally, the veiled female head, wearing the city-crown, is associated with the figure of an old man leaning on a staff and reading in a book. This last coin is inscribed ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ ΙΜΕΡΑΙΩΝ, the others merely ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ. For reasons which have already suggested themselves in dealing with the coinage of Tyndaris (p. 202), it would seem that these coins belong at the earliest to the latter half of the second century before Christ.



## PLATE XIV

	PAGE
1. Tauromenium : bronze (obv.) . . . . .	199
2. Syracuse : 4 litrae . . . . .	197
3. „ 2½ „ (rev.) . . . . .	197
4. Acragas : bronze (obv.) . . . . .	198
5. Syracuse : 1¼ litra . . . . .	197
6. Tauromenium ; gold (obv. and rev. from different specimens)	199
7. „ (8.75 grammes = 135 grains). <i>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale</i> . . . . .	200
8. „ (3.29 grammes = 50.9 grains) . . . . .	199
9. „ litra . . . . .	200
10. „ bronze (obv.) . . . . .	200
11. Tyndaris ; bronze . . . . .	201
12. Catana : bronze (obv.). <i>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale</i> . . . . .	205
13. „ „ „ . . . . .	205
14. „ „ . . . . .	206
15. Leontini „ . . . . .	207
16. Catana „ (rev.) . . . . .	206
17. Panormus, Augustus (posthumous) ; bronze . . . . .	210
18. Lilybaeum ; bronze (obv. <i>British Museum</i> , rev. <i>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale</i> ) . . . . .	212
19. Mamertini : bronze (5 ounces) . . . . .	217
20. Centuripae : bronze . . . . .	219
21. „ „ . . . . .	219





The coins of Solus in this period are comparatively varied. To this mint Imhoof-Blumer assigns certain uninscribed pieces, of which we may mention those with the type of the tunny-fish. Solunto still possesses a considerable tunny-fishery. The later coins, which are perhaps of the first century B. C., read  $\text{COΛONTINΩN}$  or  $\text{COΛONTINΩN}$  (Fig. 75).



FIG. 75. SOLUS: BRONZE.

Centuripae was a comparatively important place in the Roman period. The types of its coins relate to Zeus (Pl. XIV. 21), Apollo, Artemis, Heracles, and Persephone; the head of the last is associated with a plough on which sits a bird (Pl. XIV. 20), as at Leontini.

Gela had been destroyed by the Mamertines, and the remnant of its inhabitants were sheltered by the tyrant Phintias of Acragas in a new town which he named after himself. The people of Phintias still called themselves Geloans, and in time some of them returned to their old home; in the Roman period both cities existed. Presumably the late coins reading  $\text{ΓΕΛΛΙΩΝ}$ , of which the only interesting type is that of a youth about to sacrifice a ram

(compare Fig. 51, p. 167), belong to Gela and not to Phintias.

The remaining communities must be summarily dismissed, for this catalogue of small things grows more and more tedious.

The bull on the coins of Abacaenum (ΑΒΑΚΑΙΝΙΝ) is probably the river Helicon. Aetna has coins with the head of the sun-god (rev., a warrior) and of Persephone (rev., a cornucopiae); these are as a rule marked with three and two pellets respectively. At Agyrium we find a magistrate Sopatros (ΕΠΙ ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΥ) on a coin with a head of Zeus and a hunter accompanied by his hound, a flying Vic-

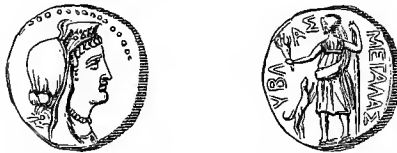


FIG. 76. HYBLA MEGALA: BRONZE.

tory crowning him. This hunter is perhaps Iolaus, the friend of Heracles; for the demigod's head is

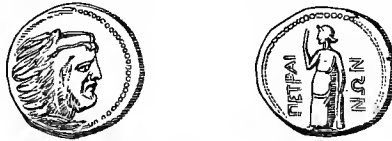


FIG. 77. PETRA: BRONZE.

the type of another coin, on the reverse of which Iolaus burns the heads of the Hydra. Acrae, Ame-



stratus, Apollonia, Assorus, Calacte, Hybla Megala (Fig. 76), Iactia, Menae, Paropus, Petra (Fig. 77) issue coins in this period for the first time. Of these Assorus has Latin inscriptions (Fig. 78: ASSORV with a head of Apollo, and CRYVAS with

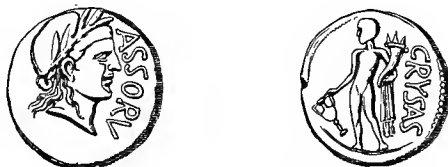


FIG. 78. ASSORUS: BRONZE.

a standing figure of the river-god Chrysas, holding an amphora and cornucopiae). A coin of Calacte of the second half of the third century is interesting because it mimics the types of Athens: a head of Athena, and an owl standing on an oil-amphora. A similar coin, but without the amphora, was, as we have seen (p. 203), issued by Lipara. That Hybla Megala should have a bee for one of its types is only to be expected of the famous honey-farming place. Menae (or Menaenum), which was a fairly important town, has a goodly variety of coins, but no remarkable novelties of type (Pl. XV. 1 represents Sarapis).

At Entella (ENTEΛΛΙΝΩΝ) we have a representation of the city-goddess with libation-bowl and cornucopiae, associated with the head of Helios and

the name of Atratinus (ATPATINOY) which we have already found on a coin of Lilybaeum (p. 212).

Haluntium, which had issued bronze money for a short time in the fourth century, makes its re-appearance in the Roman period. The reverse of one of the coins (Fig. 79), of which the obverse is



FIG. 79. HALUNTIIUM: BRONZE.

a bearded head of Heracles, represents an eagle standing on a portion of a carcass. More remarkable is the piece of which the obverse (Pl. XV. 2) represents a young male head, in a bonnet adorned with a wreath; while on the reverse (Pl. XV. 3) is a human-headed bull, made more than usually grotesque by the stream of water which runs from his mouth. The head is presumably that of the hero Patron, an Acarnanian who led some of the followers of Aeneas to found the city of Haluntium. The bull is obviously a river-god,—whether a local stream or, as Holm suggests, the famous Achelous, which flowed between Acarnania and Aetolia, it is difficult to say.

Nacona, which we have found issuing a small

coinage fitfully from the fourth century onwards, reappears in this period, if a number of coins, chiefly with maritime types (trident, head of Poseidon), and inscribed merely N or NA, can be safely attributed to that city. These coins are found near Solunto, so that the site of the city which produced them must be looked for on the coast in that neighbourhood.

The most puzzling coin of this period is perhaps one reading . . . ΩΝΑΣ (the beginning of the word is illegible) on the obverse, and apparently ΘΗΡΑΙΩΝ on the reverse. The types (Fig. 80) are the head



FIG. 80. UNCERTAIN BRONZE.

of a young river-god, with horns, wearing a crown of reeds, and a figure of the god Pan dancing before three busts, which, to judge from the better preserved specimens, rise above a kind of screen. The attribution of the coin must remain quite uncertain until a specimen is found on which the name of the river-god can be read in its entirety.

The last series of Sicilian coins with which we are concerned comprises the Roman denarii and

aurei issued in the island in the latter half of the first century B. C.

Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus and Caius Claudius Marcellus were consuls together in 49 B. C., and fled from Rome at the approach of Caesar. One of the denarii which they issued in Sicily (Pl. XV. 4) has the type of the winged Gorgon's head in the middle of a triskeles, between the legs of which are ears of corn. On the other side is Jupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle; in the field, a pruning-hook, and the names LENT(*ulus*) MAR(*cellus*) CO(*n*)S(*ules*). There is, however, no reason to suppose that another denarius, with the names of the same consuls and also bearing a figure of Jupiter on the reverse, was struck in Sicily. It belongs rather to the East.

Aulus Allienus, a partisan of Julius Caesar, was proconsul in Sicily in B. C. 48. In this year, or in the next, he issued a denarius which concerns us (Pl. XV. 5). On the obverse are the titles of Caesar—C. CAESAR IMP(*erator*) CO(*n*)S(*ul*) ITER(*um*)—and the head of Venus. As the Julian gens claimed descent from Iulus, the grandson of Venus and Anchises, the head of Venus is an appropriate and not uncommon type on coins of Julius Caesar. On the reverse we read A. ALLIENVS PRO . CO(*n*)S(*ule*). The type is a youthful figure

standing with his right foot on a prow, his left arm wrapped in his mantle, and the triskeles as the symbol of Sicily in his hand. The resemblance in pose of this figure to the god Neptune, combined with his youthful appearance and the symbol in his hand, leaves no doubt that he is the hero Trinacrus, son of Neptune, who was invented to account for the name Trinacria which the island bore.

We have already (p. 206) mentioned the fact that Sextus Pompeius issued coins with types recalling those of Catana. These belong to a class which may be described together here. They are chiefly silver denarii, and all read on the obverse *MAG. PIVS IMP. ITER.* and on the reverse *PRAEF. CLAS. ET ORAE MARIT. EX S. C.* That is to say, they describe Sextus Pompeius by his titles of Magnus Pius, Imperator for the second time, prefect of the fleet and of the sea-coast, and the coins are described as issued by order of the Senate. We find as types :

*Obv.* Head of Neptune with trident; *rev.* naval trophy, consisting of trident, helmet, cuirass, prow and aplustre, anchor, and the foreparts of two marine monsters (Pl. XV. 6).

*Obv.* The Lighthouse of Messana, with Neptune on the top and a ship before it; *rev.* Scylla, with

double tail, wolves or dogs at her waist, and brandishing an oar (Pl. XV. 7).

*Obv.* Head of Sextus Pompeius; *rev.* heads of Cn. Pompeius (the Great) and his son Cn. Pompeius, accompanied by the augur's staff (*lituus*) and a tripod respectively. This is of gold (Pl. XV. 8).

*Obv.* Head of Pompeius the Great, between augur's staff (*lituus*) and sacrificial ewer; *rev.* the Catanæan brothers, with Trinacrus between them (Pl. XV. 9).

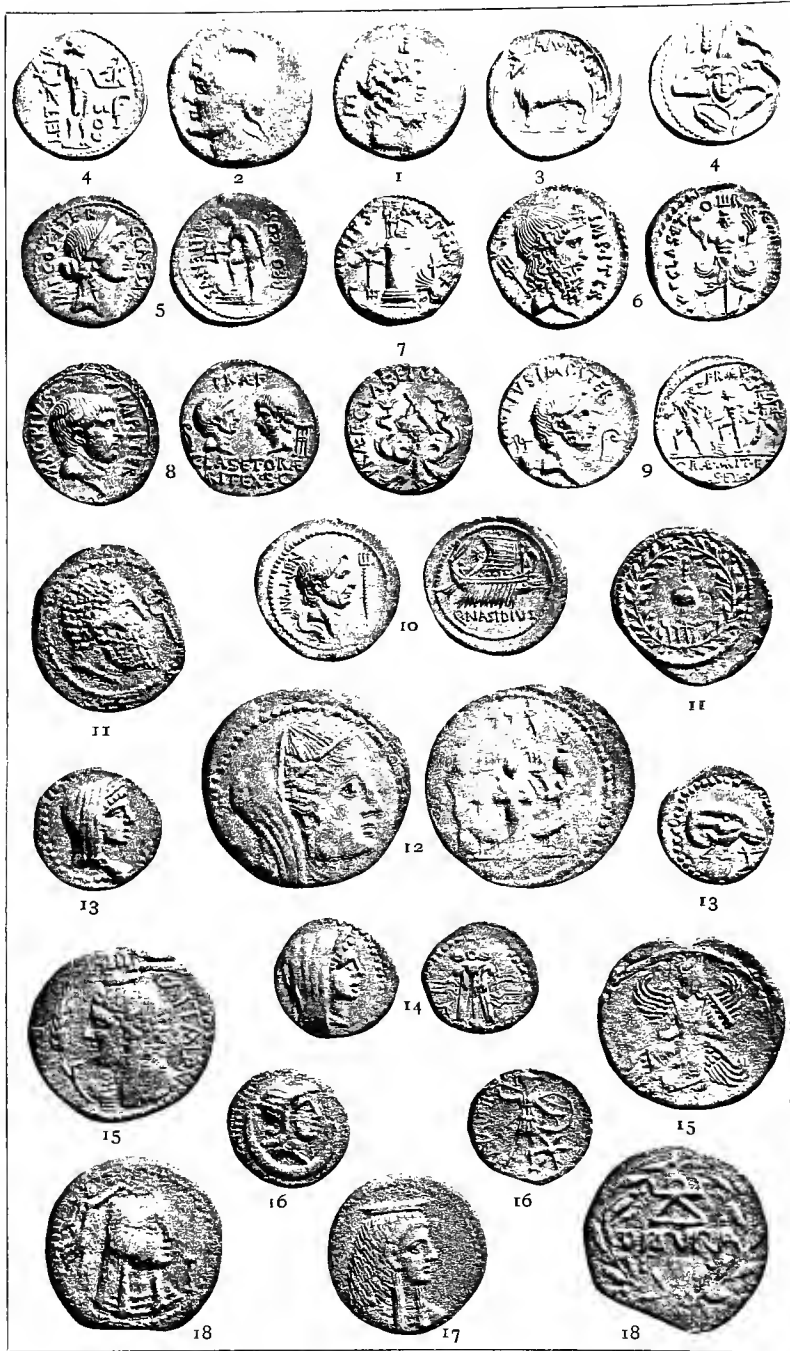
Another denarius of this period has on the obverse NEPTVNI and a head of Pompeius the Great, on the reverse Q. NASIDIVS and a ship (Pl. XV. 10). Nasidius was one of Sextus' admirals. Finally, certain rude bronze coins which read HISPANORVM were struck in Sicily for the convenience of the Spanish troops employed there by Sextus Pompeius.



PLATE XV

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2. Haluntium: bronze (obv.) . . . . .	222
3. " " (rev.) <i>Imhoof-Blumer Collection</i> . . . . .	222
4. L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus: denarius . . . . .	224
5. A. Allienus: denarius . . . . .	224
6. Sextus Pompeius: denarius . . . . .	225
7. " " " . . . . .	226
8. " " gold . . . . .	226
9. " " denarius . . . . .	206, 226
10. Q. Nasidius: denarius . . . . .	226
11. Melita: bronze . . . . .	228
12. " " . . . . .	228
13. " " . . . . .	228
14. " " . . . . .	228
15. " " . . . . .	229
16. Gaulos " . . . . .	229
17. Cossura " (obv.) . . . . .	230
18. " " . . . . .	230







## APPENDIX

### THE MALTESE GROUP AND PANTELLARIA

THE islands of Melita (*Malta*), Gaulos (*Gozo*), and Cossura (*Pantellaria*) are now generally regarded by numismatists as belonging more to Africa than to Sicily. The result is that in works adopting the usual geographical order—from west to east along the European, and from east to west along the African coast of the Mediterranean—nearly the whole thickness of the book intervenes between Sicily and this group of islands. But the Romans attached these three islands to the province of Sicily, and the older numismatists followed their example. We have the sanction of Holm for returning to the old arrangement.

The coinage of all three islands is later than their acquisition by the Romans, who took Melita, and probably also Gaulos, in 218, and Cossura in the next year. Cossura indeed had fallen into the hands of the Romans in the first Punic war, but only to be lost again.

The Phoenician element in the population of the islands was of course predominant, and at both Melita and Cossura the earliest coins bear Phoenician inscriptions. The name of Melita appears to have

been *'nn* (three letters to which, of course, the vowels would be added if we knew what they were). The more important types of these Phoenician coins are a head of Heracles, with a caduceus in front of it, combined with a priest's cap in a laurel wreath (Pl. XV. 11); and a female head, veiled, and wearing a stephane, with the figures of three Egyptian deities (Pl. XV. 12). In the middle is the mummy of Osiris holding a flail and sceptre; on either side of him is a goddess, with wings lowered and crossed in front, wearing the solar disc between horns. These two deities are probably Isis and Nephthys. Other types which are combined with the veiled female head are a ram's head (Pl. XV. 13) and a tripod (Pl. XV. 14). On the last coin the inscription is repeated on each side of the tripod.

For the most part contemporary with the coins just described, but also in some cases later, are the Greek coins with the inscription ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. On these we have a similar veiled female head associated with a tripod; and this coincidence (which recurs on the Latin coins) prompted Albert Mayr to remove the coins reading *'nn* from Gaulos (their traditional attribution) to Melita. Besides the tripod we also find a lyre associated with the same head. But the connexion of these instruments with the obverse type is probably accidental; it will already have become abundantly clear that the reverse type is not necessarily always related to the obverse. And just as—to take the first instance that comes to hand—at Lilybaeum the tripod, which on one coin is associated with a head of the city-goddess, is combined on

another with the head of Apollo, so here at Melita the lyre and tripod both occur on coins with the head of the deity to whom they belong, Apollo, as well as in the other connexion. The veiled head is probably a Hellenized representation of the Phoenician goddess Astarte. The most curious of these Greek coins is one bearing the figure of a god with four wings (Pl. XV. 15). The type is a Phoenician 'contamination' of some Egyptian deity (Osiris?); for he wears the Egyptian crown, and holds the Egyptian symbols of sovereignty, the sceptre and flail, while the four wings are a Phoenician feature. The head on the obverse of this coin is that of Isis. It is accompanied sometimes by an ear of barley—for Isis, in one of her aspects, was a corn-deity—sometimes by a symbol which appears to combine the caduceus with the Egyptian *ankh* or sign of life.

The Latin language makes its appearance on coins issued towards the end of the first century B.C. Thus on the reverse of a piece with the veiled head and the usual Greek inscription we find the name of a Roman propraetor C. ARRVTANVS BALB. PRO PR. His type is a *sella curulis*, the curule chair of office used by consuls, praetors, and curule aediles. Balbus was propraetor probably in the early years of Octavian's rule, before 27. The name of Melita is given in Latin (MELITAS) on another late coin with the veiled head and tripod.

Gaulos, being robbed of the coins with Phoenician inscriptions formerly attributed to it, can boast of only one kind of coin (Pl. XV. 16). The type of the obverse is a female head placed on a crescent moon

—doubtless the Phoenician moon-goddess Astarte, who had a temple on the island. On the reverse is a warrior with his spear accompanied by a star; the legend is ΓΑΥΛΙΤΩΝ.

Cossura has some puzzling coins. The Phoenician inscription *'irnm*, whatever may be its full form, seems to be the equivalent of Cossura; for we find it used in just the same associations as the Latin name COSSVRA. The obverse type is a female head, wearing a low headdress of the kind known as 'modius' (Pl. XV. 17), sometimes with a figure of Victory crowning her (Pl. XV. 18). Two long locks of hair depend from behind the ears, and the uraeus-serpent is visible projecting from the forehead; occasionally, too, we see the solar disc with uraei and plumes on the top of the 'modius.' The goddess is doubtless a combination of Isis and Astarte. On the reverse is the inscription within a wreath of laurel; and, in one case, there is added to the Latin inscription COSSVRA a Phoenician sign, known as the sign of Baal (Pl. XV. 18). We have already found this sign on coins struck by the Carthaginians in Sicily. The Phoenician inscription *'irnm* is on one coin replaced by *'z*.

These varieties are all which can with any certainty be ascribed to the three islands, or at least all of which the details are sufficiently well preserved to repay description.

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# INDEX I

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\* \* The Roman numerals in brackets indicate the five different periods (described in chapters I to V) to which the various coinages belong. Words in italics (except in cross-references) represent either Roman or Punic inscriptions.

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THE END



# MAP OF ANCIENT SICILY.

AFTER R. KIEPERT.

